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HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO:

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

MANNERS, ARTS, LANGUAGES, RELIGIONS, INSTITUTIONS,
AND COMMERCE OF ITS INHABITANTS.

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BY

JOHN CRAWFURD, F.R.S.

LATE BRITISH RESIDENT AT THE COURT OF
THE SULTAN OF JAVA.

WITH MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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Engd by W. H. Lizars
RAJA OF BLILING.

HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

VOL. III.

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BOOK VIII.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

GOVERNMENT.

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EXAMPLES of every form of social union, from the equality which reigns among savages, to the most absolute form of oriental despotism, may be

found within the wide range of the Indian islands. In these regions, the more abject the state of man in the scale of social improvement, the freer the form of his government; and in proportion as he advances in civilization, is that freedom abridged, until, at the top of the scale, he is subjected to a tyranny where not a vestige of liberty is discoverable. In short, he enjoys freedom when he has nothing else worth enjoying; and when the comforts of civil life accumulate around him, he is deprived of the liberty of benefiting by them. No nation, indeed, inhabiting a warm climate has ever known how to reconcile freedom and civilization. In that portion of the globe there is hardly any medium between the unbounded licence of savage independence and uncontrolled despotism. Man there no sooner acquires a little industry and a little property, than he is made a slave on account of them, just as he himself enslaves the docile and laborious animals, while the useless savages of the desert or forest enjoy their freedom.

The cause of this phenomenon is in a good measure to be sought for in the softness and fruitfulness of the climate, and the consequent facility of living with little exertion; in a word, to the absence of that wholesome discipline by which man, in severer regions, is bred to habits of hardihood, enterprise, and independence, and certainly not in any imagined innate feebleness of frame, for, on ex-

amination, it will be found that the physical constitution of every race is best adapted for the climate it inhabits.

An example of the very rudest and earliest form of social polity is afforded in the manners of the negro tribes which inhabit the mountains of the Malayan Peninsula. The least improved of these are the tribes which inhabit the mountain *Jărai*, in the territory of the Malayan Prince of Queda, bordering upon the empire of Siam. There are not in the whole mountain above three or four hundred grown persons. This population is subdivided into hordes of thirty or forty families each, who roam about the forests of the mountain, picking up wild roots or honey, and shooting, *with poisoned arrows*, the smaller game. They seldom stay above fifteen days in one spot, and their houses consist of a few moveable posts, and a little occasional thatch. They are in a state of perfect nakedness, though living in a medium rather inclement, for their usual station is seldom lower than the middle height of a mountain probably six or seven thousand feet high. There is a perfect equality of rank among them, and they have, with respect to some descriptions of property, a community of goods. They acknowledge no leader, consulting age and experience just when it suits their purpose, and then only.

Another race of the same people, whose station

is farther south, and in a less elevated tract of country, within the territory of the Malay Prince of Perak, have a wider range of country,—are more numerous, improved, and powerful. They make a prey of the larger game, and have skill enough to encounter and destroy the elephant itself. These people acknowledge the authority of a chief, and have, in their way, a regular form of social polity.

The next step in the progress of improvement is the formation of permanent residences. This would be brought about in the peculiar circumstances of the Indian islands, by the acquisition of competent subsistence, either from an improvement in agriculture,—from the discovery of a favourable fishing-ground, with improved skill in fishing,—or from both. In this manner the village would be formed. For protection from the aggression of neighbouring hordes, and from the attacks of wild animals, the institution of villages is the necessary resource, and must have been coëval, in these, and similar climates, with the first attempt to quit the erratic course of life. In that early period of society, a village and a nation were synonymous terms. *

The village or nation thus formed would neces-

* "In the centre of Anahuac, as well as in the Peloponnesus, Latium, and wherever the civilization of the human species

sarily require a form of polity for the maintenance of internal order, for attack, and for defence; and for this purpose would elect an elder for their government,—officers to assist him,—and, perhaps, a priest or astrologer to make their peace with Heaven. This is precisely the form of the village associations which, even at present, exist in Java, and the circumstances which have tended to perpetuate them there, while they have disappeared elsewhere, will be afterwards pointed out.

The extension of the nation, or the formation of new villages, may be readily imagined. When the population began to press against the means of subsistence in the first association, by the exhaustion of the good lands in the vicinity of the village, or by the incompetency of the supply of fish, it is needless to say, that, in such a state of society, the village could not be extended to the formation of a town. Emigrations would be the necessary recourse of the society, and a swarm would be thrown off to form a new settlement, as near to the parent one as circumstances would permit, in order that the infant settlement might receive its support and assistance. In several parts of Java, where the population is rapidly increasing, such a process is at present going for-

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was merely commencing, every city, for a long time, constituted a separate state."—*Humboldt's New Spain*, Book III.

ward. It is not unfrequent to see one, two, or three smaller villages depending upon a greater one, although at several miles distance from it; and in many cases, the history of the emigration of these little colonies can be traced to no very distant period of years. Among the Malays, too, we find traces of the same progress of population, in the distinct names given to the dependent *plantations*. When formed on a river, as in their situation they must often be, they are very frequently denominated "child," or "progeny," terms which at once point at their origin. All the languages, it may be remarked, have a copious phraseology on this subject, while there is but one name in all for *town* or *city*, and that a foreign one;—in short, one borrowed from the Hindus, *(Nǎgri.)*

In tracing the progress of social order among the tribes of the Indian islands, I make no reference to the shepherd state. Such a form of society could, in fact, never have existed in these countries, from the very nature of things. In regions abounding in rivers and narrow seas, and covered with stupendous forests, emigrations would take place by water, and not by land;—an important fact, which constantly presents itself to us. The abundance of wild roots, honey, and game, but, above all, of fish, would, in a rude period of society, suggest these as materials of subsistence more easy and obvious than the taming of cattle. Minor considera-

tions would contribute. The cattle of the Indian islands, in common with those of other tropical countries, afford milk in too meagre quantity to supply a material of subsistence. The sheep does not exist at all; and had it existed, would have been an animal of very little value; for its coat is hair, and not wool; but had it even been the latter, it would have little contributed to the useful necessities of savages, inhabiting a soft and warm climate. The taming of cattle in these countries, therefore, is a considerable effort of civilization; and cattle were in all probability first made subservient to the purposes of agriculture, after that art itself had made considerable advances. Among many of the savage tribes, who procure some portion of their subsistence from the growing of corn, cattle are still unknown. A tribe which applies the labour of cattle to the purposes of husbandry, necessarily adds so greatly to its means of supporting an increasing population, that it cannot long remain stationary.

The progress of government, from the simplest form of elective magistracy, to the last verge of despotism, may be traced in its various stages. The office of leader, or chief magistrate, at first elective from the whole body of society, would in time become elective from a privileged family, and, in course, hereditary in that family. Wars, conquests, and the spoliation of a hostile horde, would soon give a victorious leader such

power and authority as would render him despotic, and, in process of time, the body of the people would be reduced to be the mere slaves of his will. These abstract reflections on the progress of society and government are naturally obtruded upon our attention by those practical illustrations which our observation of the manners of the Indian islanders is constantly presenting.

Among the least improved of the civilized tribes, the petty lords or tyrants of villages, or little districts, have, for offence or defence, found it convenient to associate, and to elect from among their number an individual to preside over their councils. This may be deemed the *second* great step in the progress of government towards despotism. We have examples of it in all the governments of Celebes, of the Suluk Archipelago, and less perfect vestiges in those of Sumatra. In some of these aristocratic federations, the *Presidency* is elective from the body of the electors, but more generally from a particular family. Such a form of government, I imagine, in an earlier period of society, was very general among the civilized tribes, but the same advantages which enabled the village chief to usurp over his fellows, would enable the elective president of a confederacy to do the same thing over the federal chiefs. The office determined to a privileged family would soon become hereditary, and necessarily despotic. Such a change has actually taken place

among all the more highly civilized tribes; for example, the Javanese, the Balinese, and the Malays. No doubt, the arbitrary maxims imported along with the Mahomedan and Hindu religions have contributed, with these internal causes of change, to the establishment of uncontrolled despotism among these tribes.

From what has been here laid down, it will appear, that, among the tribes and nations of the Indian islands, there are no fewer than *five* distinct forms of social union, besides numerous varieties of each particular form,—beginning with the rudest savages, among whom no subordination is recognized, and none required, and proceeding successively,—to the simplest form of elective magistracy,—to the establishment of hereditary monarchy,—of elective confederacies;—and, lastly, ending with the establishment of unlimited despotism.

Among the civilized tribes, the two last forms of government only exist. To these, therefore, it will be necessary to devote more particular attention. With this view, I shall furnish the reader in detail with an example of each, choosing for the federal government a sketch of that of the people of Boni in Celebes, and for the despotic government a similar one of that of the Javanese, supplying as I proceed any necessary or interesting illustrations from the other modifications of social union.

The federal state of Boni consists of eight petty

states, each governed by its own hereditary despot, while the general government is vested in one of the number elected by the rest. The presidency has been long elective in the family of the Prince of the state of *Bontualah*, even at present little more than a considerable village. The princes in their own language are denominated king, *Arung*, and the only distinction left to the head of the confederacy is to have the letter *a* appended to this appellative. The distinction among the Macassars is exactly similar; they make the word *Kraing*, or prince, *Krainga*, when they speak of the supreme head of *their* confederation.

The head of the Boni confederacy can do nothing without the other princes, who are his counsellors. The public treasure is in their charge, and they decide on peace and war. The same council chooses the *Tumilalang*, or first minister, by whom, or through whose agents, *justice* is administered. The chief of the confederacy cannot correspond in his own name on public affairs, but the letters must run thus, "We, the king, and the people of Boni, decree, resolve," &c. I have perused several of these. The seven counsellors are called from their number *Arnug-pitu*, which is as much as to say, the council of the seven lords or princes. Besides choosing the head of the confederacy, these are themselves elected. Their offices are hereditary in families, but the council chooses

the individual, and not only fills up vacancies by death, but will take upon them to remove an obnoxious individual, and proceed to a new election. Independent of their deliberative functions, the members of the *council of seven* hold also executive offices ; one, for example, is first minister, another commander of the army, &c.

Any individual of the *privileged families*, even a woman or an infant, is eligible to be raised either to the government of the particular states, or to be head of the general government. When a woman or minor, as very frequently happens, is raised to the latter office, the constitution provides a guardian. This person is called in their language *Madangrang*, which means literally " a prop or support."

The head of the confederacy cannot separate himself from his council to go on a warlike expedition, or similar employment, without, by a kind of fiction, making a temporary abdication of the throne. In this case he is at liberty to nominate a viceroy, an officer who, in the Bugis language, is called his *Sulewatang*, or proxy. The majority of the council then attend the king, and the remainder stay with the *Sulewatang* to render him assistance. In illustration of this peculiarity of the government, I shall report the substance of a conversation which took place in 1814, in the council of Boni, as it was rendered to me from the native

language, respecting a meditated attack on the British settlement of Macassar, with the view of throwing off the dependence of Boni on the European authority. "I am determined," said the king of Boni, "for my own part, (addressing himself to two of his councillors,) to submit to the English no longer; and on this account I say, that one of us three must assume the command of the army, I perhaps leading, and you two, one to my *right*, and one to my *left*." *Arung-China*, the commander of the army, observed, "The king of Boni cannot by any possibility take the command while the legitimate commander exists." The king answered, "Do not trouble yourself about that matter, for you know I have a sister whom I can nominate sovereign of Boni, for the time."

All the governments of Celebes are formed on principles such as now exemplified in that of Boni, but there is some variety. The most extraordinary is in that of the Goa Macassars. The king is chosen by *ten* electors, who also choose the officer called, in his capacity of elector, *Pachalaya*, and in that of first minister, *Bachara-butah*. To this officer belong powers similar to those of the Mayors of the Palace of France. Of his own authority he can remove the king himself, and direct the electors to proceed to a new election; he can also remove any member of the council of nine, or *Bato-salapang*, and direct another to be chosen.

The history of this officer's usurpation of such extraordinary powers is not recorded, but may be readily imagined.

The Bugis state of Wajo affords another singular anomaly. There are forty princes in this state, who constitute the great council of the nation. This council is subdivided into three chambers, from each of which there are elected two princes, who in their turn elect the chief of the confederacy, called the *Matuwa*. This smaller council of seven princes, from which, by custom, women are excluded, and in which the president, if necessary, has two votes, carry on the affairs of the general government, and decide upon all questions of government, those of peace and war excepted, which must be referred to the great national council *of forty*.

I am now to furnish the reader with a picture of absolute government, as exemplified in that of the Javanese. This government is a hereditary despotism, exactly such as is established in all the great empires of Asia. There is no hereditary nobility with privileges to control or limit his authority. He is himself the first minister of religion, so that even religion has but trifling influence in restricting his authority; in short, the monarchs of Java may be considered as among the most absolute of eastern potentates. In every word which relates to the monarch, the servile copiousness of the Ja-

vanese language proclaims his unbounded authority. When he is addressed, words which literally imply "the royal feet," and "the royal slave," have superseded all other pronouns of the second and first person. The usual exordium of a petition to the monarch is, "the royal slave places his life at the royal disposal." The language of adulation has no bounds. It would be sacrilege to call the monarch's head by any other name than that which literally means "the pinnacle of a temple." In the same language his eyes are a "pair of gems," and his face is "the sun." * The prince, on his side, addresses the highest of his subjects in language the most insolent, and "slave,"

* The of Prince Gelgel in Bali is usually called by the strange title of *Dewa-Agung*, which literally means the Great Deity or God. The author of the General History of Voyages, quoting the manuscript relation of a Dutch mission to Bali, has the following passage: "Sur l'article des mœurs, la relation ajoute à la suite, des coutumes barbares de ces peuples, une simple explication de quelques uns de leurs titres fastueux. Celui de *Gusty*, qu'on a lû souvent, ne signifie que conseiller; mais le roi, ses freres ses sœurs et ses fils, sont distingués par le nom de Dewa, c'est à dire *Dieu*, appellant leur idole meme *Dewa Ratus*, ou le *Grand Dieu* (correctly "*king-gods!*") Dans les degrés plus eloignés de la tige royale, on n'employe que le titre de *Sava Jang*, (*Sang yang*,) que repond a celui *d'ange*, et ces epithétes sont les mèmes pour les deux sexes; la difference qu'on en fait ne consiste que dans les noms propres." Vol. XVII. p. 59.

or "fellow," are applied by him alike to the first minister, to a prince of the blood, and to the humblest villager.* In an ethical work, composed in the reign of the Sultan of Pajang, about 250 years ago, implicit obedience, and unlimited devotion to the sovereign, are recommended in the following odious strain: "He who serves a prince is exalted by an implicit obedience to his will. Should the monarch order you to embrace

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* The language of the Malays, and their laws, contain similar evidence. To shew the spirit of their institutions, I shall quote a few passages from their customary laws. "The forbidden words, say these, are *Titah*, *Bărpatek*, *Mărka*, *Ampun*, *Dărma-kurnia*, and *Anggurha*. If an inmate of the palace apply these terms to any but the prince, to whom they by right belong, he shall be *put to death*. If a person without the walls use them, he shall be struck a blow over the mouth at the time he is pronouncing them. If any man direct these words to be addressed to himself, he shall suffer *death*."

In the sumptuary laws of these people, the same spirit is discernible. The following are examples:

"If persons come into the presence chamber, or even enter the precincts of the palace, wearing clothes of extraordinary fineness, without the royal approbation, their clothes shall be torn from their backs, and they shall be turned out." —"If a person use a mat for sleeping on, ornamented with *yellow*, (the royal colour,) or a yellow coloured pillow, or a yellow handkerchief, the punishment of such offence is *death*." —"If a person wear a golden hilted *kris*, without the royal orders, such *kris* shall be taken from him and confiscated."

the neck of a tiger, do it without delay ; should he order you to kiss the cheek of an angry serpent, do it without hesitation. Do not flinch in either case, for your obedience will gain you renown, and lay for you the foundation of prosperity. When you are ordered to walk over ground strewed with spikes, forthwith walk over it ; you will receive no harm, for, even should death be the consequence, the reward of your devotion will be a smooth road to heaven."

In their extravagant efforts to appear servile, the Indian islanders may almost literally be said to mimic the gait and manners of the very beasts of the field. In approaching the sovereign, the subject creeps or goes on all-fours, and retires in the same humiliating manner. He never stands erect, by any chance, in *the presence*, whatever his occupation. In the early intercourse of Europeans with the Javanese, a Dutch admiral and his suite, having stood erect before a Javanese monarch, though that monarch was a refugee claiming assistance, the courtiers were so shocked at his presumption, that they began to use force to compel him into an attitude of more humility, and a serious quarrel was the consequence. *

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* "At Mindanao, *they may look at their prince ;* but, from the highest to the lowest, they approach him with the greatest respect and veneration, creeping very low, and ofttimes on

The languages of the tribes which have the federal and aristocratic forms of government, have no such extravagant expressions as those now alluded to, for with them there are many competitors for panegyric, and no one to make a thorough monopoly of it.

The government of Java, and all the other forms of absolute government, are hereditary in the family of the reigning prince, but the rule of primogeniture, so indispensable to tranquillity, is neither practised nor understood. By custom it is generally thought necessary that the heir to the throne should be the son of a legitimate wife, or queen, and not of a concubine. The sovereign, during his lifetime, proclaims the eventual successor, who is honoured as the first subject, but seldom entrusted with any share in the administration. This practice, which is universal in all the absolute forms of social polity, deserves to be looked upon as an improvement on these forms of government.

Under the Javanese monarch, a minister, or *Patch*, and four assistants, superintend the administration of the country. Two of the assistants are intended to aid in the management of the

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their knees, with their eyes fixt on him, and when they withdraw, they return in the same manner, creeping backwards, and still keeping their eyes on him, till they are out of sight.' *Dampier*, Vol. I. p. 143.

household, and two in the conduct of the affairs of *state*, which is as much as to say, that these two departments are of equal importance,—perhaps, after all, no small concession from a despot. The minister and his assistants form a council, the deliberations of which are, as occasion may require, assisted by calling in those heads of departments, whose advice may be deemed useful, as the *Pangkuhu*, or High Priest, in matters of religion and jurisprudence; and the governors of provinces in such affairs as touch their respective jurisdictions.

The administration of the provinces is conducted by the vicegerents of the prince, who execute, each within his jurisdiction, all the authority of the sovereign, or nearly the whole of it. They have, as he has, their *Pateh*, or minister, and he his assistants. A miniature of the same form of administration is discovered, indeed, in the very villages, from which, in effect, the whole institution originally took its origin, as already pointed out.

The authority of the immediate deputy of the sovereign is divided and subdivided in proportion to the extent of his province or jurisdiction. This department of administration, in Java, in consequence of the great changes brought about by the extension of agriculture, and the increase of population, is not so well defined as in the more stationary state of society in Bali, to which I shall, there-

fore, refer. The smallest subdivision in Bali is into twenty families, five of which constitute the second subdivision of the hundred, under an officer called in that country *Kliyan-tempek*. From two to three of these, according to the nature of the country, constitute the third division, under an officer called *Părbăkal*. Several of these, according to the extent of the district, constitute a province under the authority of the *Gusti*, lord or viceroy. The imperfect relics of similar institutions are discoverable in Java, in the division called *Tătongo*, or the "immediate neighbourhood," *Machapat*, or the four next villages, and *Manchagangsal*, or the five next villages, and in the jurisdiction of the officers called *Prapat* and *Gugunung*. These are institutions almost exactly parallel to those of the Hindus, Peruvians, and Anglo-Saxons. There is no sensible reason to believe that either borrowed from the other simple and natural contrivances, which readily occurred to barbarians in the same state of society.

In all these cases the deputy of the sovereign is vested with nearly his whole authority. The authority of the chiefs of smaller subdivisions diminish downwards, each being amenable in his turn to his immediate superior; the vicegerent, in his turn, is amenable to the first minister, and the first minister to the sovereign.

I have no doubt, that, wherever, in the Archipelago, despotic government is now established, it

must have passed successively through all the other four modes of government adverted to in tracing the history of the forms of political association. An examination of the languages of the people throw a few lights on this interesting subject.* The genuine native term for king in Javanese is *Ratu*, which is the same word that is written *Datu* in some other languages. Its literal meaning is grandfather, and by a slight inflection a senior or elder, from which last is taken its figurative mean-

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* "We have examples of the theocratical forms of government in South America, for such were those of the Zac of Bogota, the ancient Cundinamarca; and of the Inca of Peru, two extensive empires, in which despotism was concealed under the appearance of a gentle and patriarchal government. But in Mexico, small colonies, wearied of tyranny, gave themselves republican constitutions. Now, it is only after long popular struggles that these free constitutions can be formed. The existence of republics does not indicate a very recent civilization."—*Humboldt's New Spain*, Book II. chap. 6.—I consider that the argument of this great traveller in favour of the civilization of the Mexican tribes, deduced from the republican form of their government, is wholly unfounded. I have no doubt, indeed, but the Mexican republics were just such institutions as the aristocratic federal associations which I have described. In almost every particular connected with the progress of manners and society, the Indian islanders and Americans are more like each other than either is to any other race of men, notwithstanding that no rational ground exists for imagining that the least intercourse *ever* existed between them.

ing, a lord or chief. This brings us to that early period of society, when, perhaps, no form of social contract existed, and the community listened to the advice of the aged and experienced, when they had need of their counsel.

From another name or title of the Javanese sovereign, a plausible inference is to be drawn respecting the immediate derivation of the despotic form of monarchy from the federal and aristocratic. The name of the higher order of nobility in Java, and especially of those to whom the governments of provinces is delegated, is *Bopati.* The title of the sovereign now alluded to is *Sribopati,* which means nothing more than *the first noble,* though this more literal interpretation is of course, now-a-days, never given to it. This would make his office to have been precisely parallel to the *Arunga* or *Krainga* of the Bugis and Macassar forms of government,—make him, in short, the president of a federal association.

A sort of oscillation between the despotic and the federal forms of political association may, I think, be traced in the history of both, but particularly of the latter. In the former, the powers delegated to the chief of the confederacy must naturally lead to abuse and usurpation. One ambitious and able prince would effect a great deal against the unskilful combination of a number, and a succession of such princes from the same family,

under favourable circumstances, would hardly fail to overthrow the power of the inferior nobles, and render them in time, not the hereditary despots of their little principalities, but the mere creatures of his will, and the instruments of his power in the provinces. It was thus that, on the introduction of the Mahomedan religion among the Macassars, a succession of able princes, with the influence acquired by their extensive conquests, seem to have put them in the way of becoming absolute.

The possession of wealth, the necessary consequence of a soil of great fertility, encouraged in Java the progress of absolute power, by strengthening the hands of those in authority. The devotion of the people to agricultural industry, by rendering themselves more tame, and more at the mercy of power than the wandering tribes, and their property more tangible, went still farther towards it, for wherever, in the east, agriculture is the principal pursuit, there it may certainly be reckoned, that the people will be found living under an absolute government.* The influence of Hindu and

* This fact is finely illustrated by Humboldt in the following passage, which did not occur to me until I had written what is in the text. "The northern provinces, New Biscay, Sonora, and New Mexico, were very thinly inhabited in the sixteenth century. The natives were hunters and *shepherds!* and they withdrew as the European conquerors advanced towards the north. Agriculture alone attaches man

Mahomedan manners must, no doubt, have had considerable effect in forwarding the same object. In whatever country of the Archipelago arbitrary government exists, the titles of the prince, of his nobility, and of many of the offices of government, will generally be found purely Hindu; but in the federal associations, their political institutions do not afford a vestige of the language of India.

The feebleness, unskilfulness, and barbarism even of the most improved of the nations of the Indian islands, have always prevented them from establishing permanent empires, and the most considerable states have been but of momentary duration. A succession of princes of ability overthrew the federal establishments: from the feeble hands of a succession of weak ones, power fell into the hands of the governors of provinces, who became hereditary lords of their respective jurisdictions. The society having, however, become familiar with

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to the soil, and developes the love of country. Thus we see that, in the southern part of Anahuac, in the cultivated region adjacent to Tenichtitlan, the arctic colonists patiently endured the cruel vexations exercised towards them by their conquerors, and suffered every thing rather than quit the soil which their fathers had cultivated. But, in the northern provinces, the natives yielded to the conquerors their uncultivated savannahs, which served for pasturage to the buffaloes." *Humboldt's New Spain*, Book II. chap. 6.

principles of absolute government, its restoration on an extensive scale required only the success of a new line of usurpers from the ranks of the petty sovereigns, whose power was established on the downfall of the last absolute government. This oscillation may be easily traced in the history of those nations of the Archipelago, where there has been a field for the establishment of considerable states, as among the Malays and Javanese.

Whatever be the form of government among the civilized tribes of the Archipelago, slavery, or at least servitude, is alike the lot of the people, but their condition is invariably most easy and comfortable, where the absolute authority of one despot has superseded that of the many.* They even enjoy a larger share of personal freedom under such a government; for their immediate rulers are in some degree responsible. The government

* "The history of the lower classes of a people is the relation of the events which, in creating at the same time a great inequality of fortune, enjoyment, and individual happiness, have gradually placed a part of the nation under the tutorage and control of the other. We shall seek for this relation in vain in the annals of history. They transmit to us the memory of the great political revolutions, wars, conquests, and other scourges which have afflicted humanity, but they inform us nothing of the more or less deplorable lot of the poorest and most numerous class of society."—*Humboldt's Political Essay on New Spain*, Book II. chap. 6.

is also more regularly administered, and, therefore, there is less anarchy and disorder.

Wherever there exist numerous petty states, there is perpetual warfare and contention; and the people are bought and sold without mercy. Thus slavery and rapine are more general under the federal government of Celebes, than under any of the absolute governments. In Java, for example, it is remarkable that there is no personal slavery, no buying and selling of human beings. The petty tyrant of the village or district is engaged in the perpetual exercise of his tyranny; but the greater despot has no time or opportunity. In the villages of the federal governments there is, of course, no vestige of elective government. In those of Java the people frequently choose their village officers with a remarkable degree of freedom, and with very little control. This benefit arises from the removal, to the greatest possible distance, of the influence of power and authority. Even where absolute government is established, if the jurisdiction should be small, the mischievous effects of the interference of the sovereign are immediately felt. *

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* "The sultan (of Mindanao) is absolute in his power over all his subjects. He is but a poor prince; for, as I mentioned before, they have but little trade, and therefore cannot be rich. If the sultan understands that any man has money, if it be but twenty dollars, which is a great matter

The village officers are no longer nominated by the franchises of the people, but by the *fiat* of the sovereign; anarchy and disorder prevail, and the people are seized and sold into slavery. All this is the case among the petty principalities of the island of Bali, almost to the same extent as in Celebes, the great nursery of slaves.

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among them, he will send to borrow so much money, pretending urgent occasions for it; and they dare not deny him. Sometimes he will send to sell one thing or another that he hath to dispose of, to such whom he knows to have money, and they must buy it, and give him his price; and if afterwards he hath occasion for the same thing, he must have it if he sends for it."—*Dampier,* Vol. I. p. 335.

CHAPTER II.

CLASSIFICATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE PEOPLE.

The people divided into six classes.—Account of the royal family, or first class.—Of the nobility, or second class.—Of the priesthood, or third class.—Of the freemen, or fourth class.—Of debtors, or the fifth class.—Of slaves, or the sixth class.

AMONG the Indian islanders, generally, there exists no factitious and hereditary distribution of the people into various employments—no institution of casts. The following natural orders exist in the society, of each of which it will be necessary to give a separate account. The royal family—the nobles—the priests—the cultivators, or freemen—debtors—slaves.

Among all the tribes of the Indian islands where absolute government is established, the title of the royal family to the throne is considered divine and indefeasible. Their claims are guarded by superstition; and the Malay and Javanese languages have peculiar words to express the judgment of Providence that would fall upon the man of in-

ferior birth who should presume to arrogate the office or titles of royalty. We have a singular and authentic illustration of the veneration with which the Indian islanders regard the royal blood in the circumstances attending the elevation of the prince called the *Susunan Kuning* in Java during the Chinese war. This person was a lad of twelve or thirteen years of age, and removed in the third degree from the throne. The Chinese strongly objected to his elevation, but their Javanese coadjutors insisted that none but those of the blood royal could by possibility ascend the throne of Java. *Martapura*, one of the Javanese chiefs, spoke as follows to the chief of the Chinese: "Father, it is the immemorial usage of Java, that none should be king save he who is of the blood of those to whom the kingdom *as of right* belongs; and the presumptuous man would be short-lived who, without title, should intrude himself into the throne. He would forfeit his wretched life, and it would be his fate to be beat to death with clubs."*

With all this veneration for the royal family, there is nothing attached to it that is hereditary but the throne. The unbounded prerogative of the crown tolerates nothing that can by implication be considered independent of it. The title of *Pangeran*, or prince, is, in Java, for example,

* Javanese manuscript.

usually conferred upon the sons, and sometimes upon the grandsons of princes, because these honours reflect a lustre upon the sovereign himself; but, after this, their families are permitted to melt unnoticed into the common mass of the people.

In the federal government, the persons who appear at first view hereditary nobles, are, in fact, as already explained, the little despots of their respective principalities. A hereditary nobility is incompatible with the unlimited authority claimed and exercised in the absolute governments. There all rank emanates from the sovereign, and is held during his pleasure.* The genuine spirit of this branch of the East Insular institutions will be thoroughly understood from the tenor of a Javanese writ or patent of nobility, which is literally in the following words: "Take notice! This the royal letter of us the exalted monarch *(such a one)* we give in keeping to our servant *the fellow (such a one.)* Be it known to you all our slaves, whether high lords or inferior chiefs of our royal city or provinces, that we have given in custody

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* "It is the nature of despotism," says Burke, "to abhor power held by any means but its own momentary pleasure, and to annihilate all intermediate situations between boundless strength on its own part, and total debility on the part of the people."—*Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents.*

this our royal letter to our servant, that he may be made high from being low, and be placed in our confidence by being raised to the rank of a noble. Moreover, we empower him to wear and use such dress, decorations, and insignia, as belong to a high noble, giving for his subsistence of our royal property within a certain district, the quantity of land laboured by one thousand families." This, in a few words, points out the absolute dependence of the nobility upon the will of the sovereign. The noble once nominated may be looked upon as a kind of emanation of his master, and receives from all his dependants, in their several gradations, a portion, and a large one, of the honours due to the sovereign, of whom he is the representative. The inferior chiefs are addressed by their dependants on their bare knees. This patriarchal subordination extends through every class of society, and is not confined to political dependance, but pervades the domestic economy of the people. The genius and the idiom of the language has taken the impression in proportion as the refinements of absolute power have been extended, a subject which has been already treated at length in considering the Javanese language, the dialect of that tribe which has the most despotic government.

Though there be no hereditary nobility among the Indian islanders, and every man's title dies with himself, no people are fonder of titles, or pride

themselves more upon the possession of them. The refinement established on this point in the ranks of nobility which exist in Java deserves a particular description. According to the customs of that country, there are two distinct classes of nobility, a higher and a lower, which may be explained by comparing them respectively to our barons and knights, or, perhaps, more appropriately, to the nobles and noblesse of old monarchical France. The first are distinguished by the general appellation of *Bopati*, and the second, by the Hindu name of *Mantri*. The first class of nobility consists of two orders, the *Adipati* and the *Tumăngung*; the second of three, the *Ingabai*, the *Ronggo*, and the *Dămang*. The nobility of either class, and all orders, are again subdivided into three grades, by prefixing to their titles the epithets *Mas*, *Kyayi*, and *Raden*, words which may be considered to import, though they do not literally mean, *Distinguished*, *Honourable*, and *Illustrious*. By custom or courtesy all who are descended from the sovereign, in the third or fourth degree, or who have the honour to receive one of the royal daughters in marriage, are entitled to the most distinguished epithet, or *illustrious*.

From the first class of nobility are chosen the governors of provinces, the ministers of state, and other high functionaries; and from the second the

inferior officers, down to the chiefs of large villages.

No class or rank of nobility is to be considered exclusively civil or military, for, in such a state of society, such an appropriation of employments has no existence. When the Javanese would aim at the organization of a regular military force, they transfer to the military body the civil subdivision of ranks, from the highest noble down to the humblest officer of the village polity.

Under the Malay governments we have a nobility of the very same description as under that of the Javanese. The first class is there denominated *Mantri*, and the second *Hulubalang*. The first hold the principal offices of state, and the second the subordinate ones.

The influence of Hindu manners, as stated in the chapter on Government, appears to have had no small share in the establishment of absolute power, and its influence may be traced in the titles of nobility, particularly in Java. The Hindu word *Măntri*, meaning a vicefoy, has, among the Javanese, been strangely degraded, in modern times, to the lowest class of nobility; among the Malays it is more appropriately applied. The probability is, that, with the former, it was driven from its station, like many other words of the same origin, by becoming too familiar, and, consequently, *vulgar*. The words *adipati* and *nayoko* are also Hindu words, not to

mention the titles of office, as several of the names of the sovereign himself, as *Raja*, *Narendra*, and *Naradipa*, with *Senapati*, commander of the army, &c.

The third class, or *priesthood*, is next to be considered. Religion, even the Hindu religion, seems never to have established, among the Indian islanders, that extraordinary influence upon the minds of men which has accompanied it in some other countries, and particularly in the country of the Hindus themselves, whom we are most naturally led to compare with the Indian islanders. The Hindu religion does not appear, among the latter, to have been artfully interwoven with the political institutions of the country, nor to have mixed with all the common offices and common business of life in the wonderful manner it does in continental India. The ministers of religion seem, therefore, never to have acquired an undue and pernicious influence in society, and the veneration for absolute power seems, in all ages of the history of these countries, to have superseded that for the priesthood. At the period of the conversion of the Javanese, and for some time afterwards, the priests exercised unusual authority, and the government was a sort of theocracy, but the civil authority soon regained its natural ascendancy, and the powers of the priesthood were absorbed into those of the sovereign, who assumed and maintained the title

and authority of the head of the church. The Indian islanders have, indeed, an ample stock of credulity and superstition, but the temper of the people is not of that gloomy and enthusiastic cast which affords the materials that would kindle into a flame of fanaticism or intolerance, and however abject their political servitude, they are not subject to the still more pernicious slavery of the priesthood. The Mahomedan religion authorizes no regular priesthood, yet among the Indian islanders it has become a distinct profession, and in Java we see them the virtual successors of their Braminical predecessors, a peaceful unaspiring race of men, whose influence is kept under through control by the all-limiting supremacy of despotic power.

Although, in considering the class of nobles, I have stated that an official rather than a hereditary nobility exists, yet, from the nature of things, it must necessarily happen that such nobility is in some measure hereditary in families. The possessor of office acquires, in that situation, a portion of power, wealth, intelligence, and experience, which is naturally more or less inherited by his family; and, from habit, convenience, and necessity, the nobility are often chosen from the same stock. In such a state of society, there can be no middle class; and, accordingly, as mentioned in another place, the *mercantile order* had in Java,

when the people were Hindus, no existence. The community is divided, in fact, into *two great* and distinct classes, and the influence of this division is discoverable in all their languages. In those of the Malays and Javanese, the distinction is drawn in a most humiliating and mortifying manner. A *great* man, in both, means a person of rank; and a *little* one is the usual expression for a peasant. In the Javanese, the chiefs are designated the *head*, and the mob the *feet*. In the same language, the two classes are frequently designated from a comparison taken from the familiar appearance of the rice grain; the lower orders being called by the same word which is applied to the na[illegible]es and broken fragments of the grain, and the privileged order by that which expresses the perfect ones; or, as the idiom of our language would make it, "the chaff and the corn." The Malay language, in one example, draws a still more degrading distinction for a *rich* man * and a man of rank, are one and the same thing, which, in such a state of society, implies pretty plainly that none but the great can be the possessors of wealth. Such a disregard to the rights of the people is what we must expect in such a state of society. Not trusting altogether to the evidence of

* *Orăng-kaia.*

philological argument, I shall quote, on this subject, the words of a Javanese historian, when he is describing the hostilities conducted against the European power by the combined Chinese and Javanese, and when a mock action is thought necessary to deceive the common enemy, the Dutch. "*Singseh* and *Sapanjang* (the Chinese leaders) observed to the Javanese chiefs, the Adipati (the first minister) has now arrived with a countless host, and we are unacquainted with the practice of the Javanese, and how they conduct a mock fight." "Fathers, said the Javanese chiefs, such a battle is conducted by us in perfect earnest, with mutual slaughter, for not the smallest compassion is shewn to the people; keeping your secret and saving the life of the Adipati, you may exterminate the rest."

The condition of the peasantry or occupiers of the soil will afterwards be described in a separate chapter; and, in the meantime, it may be sufficient to observe, that their tenure depends upon the will of their masters, and that the only security for their possession is the utility and necessity of their labour to their superiors. Among themselves, the peasantry live in their villages on terms of much equality. In many parts of Java, the village is a kind of *corporation*, in which the chief and officers, including the priest, are elected by the cultivators, privileges which they

exercise because they are not worth interfering with, and which never fail to be usurped when caprice or interest suggest it to the government or its officers.

A fourth, but a small class, existing in every country of the Archipelago, but most where anarchy and disorder most prevail, are called *debtors* in the native languages. These are people who either voluntarily, or by the laws of the country, mortgage their services for a certain period, or during life, to discharge some obligation which they have no other means of liquidating. Their condition is, in fact, a mitigated kind of slavery. These debtors, with freemen and slaves, constitute the *three* orders into which the laws of the Malays, and other tribes, divide the people, for the higher orders are literally above the law, and not noticed except as administering it. When any country is distressed by war, famine, or intestine commotion, hundreds of the lower orders mortgage their services to persons of wealth or influence, who can afford them subsistence and protection, just as the peasantry of the middle ages of Europe were wont to make a sacrifice of their personal liberty to obtain the countenance of religious institutions, and of the nobility. This is the origin of a class very numerous among some of the states.

Slavery exists in every country of the Indian Archipelago except Java. The anomaly of its ab-

sence in the latter country will be afterwards explained. The origin of slavery in these islands is referable to four heads; *prisoners of war; debtors* who cannot redeem themselves; *criminals*, condemned to slavery by sentences of courts of law, and *persons kidnapped*. None but the most savage of the tribes destroy their prisoners; and the more improved nations, like other men in a corresponding state of civilization, make slaves of them. In Java, we perceive that, in the conquests of the dynasty of Mataram, the population of the districts which were overrun were carried off into slavery, more particularly the female portion of it, to satisfy the vicious demands of polygamy. In the wars of Celebes, even whole nations were, by the *right* of conquest, made slaves. We perceive the Macassar nation at one time in possession of ten thousand male slaves, of the vanquished Bugis, and employing them, without distinction of rank, on the labour of public works. The right is, indeed, universally established, or rather the violence universally practised. The second source of slavery is the failure of the debtor to redeem himself, and this must, from the indigence or indolence which gave occasion to pawn his liberty, be a frequent cause of servitude. Another ample source of slavery is the arbitrary and iniquitous sentences of the native law, with which the deprivation of personal liberty is a fre-

quent punishment, extended often to the whole family and relatives of the real or pretended criminal. The practice of kidnapping, among the Indian islanders, has chiefly had its origin in their connection with foreigners, and mostly in consequence of the establishment of European settlements.* Persons enslaved by kidnapping could not, from the nature of things, find a market in their own country, but are advantageously *exported* to foreign countries. This abominable proceeding is recognized by the native laws, where we find the hereditary slave, from his subdued spirit, and servile education, fixed at double the value of the reluctant and untractable freeman who has been filched of his liberty.

Among the Indian islanders predial slavery has

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* "For *Macassar* is not far from hence, *(Bouton,)* one of the chiefest towns the Dutch have in those parts. From thence the Dutch come sometimes hither to purchase slaves. The slaves that these people get here, and sell to the Dutch, are some of the idolatrous natives of the island, who, not being under the sultan, and having no head, live straggling in the country, flying from one place to another, to preserve themselves from the prince, and his subjects, who hunt after them to make them slaves. For the civilized Indians of the maritime places, who trade with foreigners, if they cannot reduce the inland people to the obedience of their prince, they catch all they can of them and sell them for slaves, accounting them to be but as savages, just as the Spaniards do the poor Americans."—*Dampier*, Vol. I. p. 457.

hardly existence any where. The condition of society scarce admits of it, for freemen, as occupants, till the soil, and afford the master a higher profit than his own ignorance and supineness could give him, by his superintendence of the labour of more nominal slaves. Slaves among the Indian islanders, then, may be looked upon as a kind of personal luxury, contributing, even according to their own estimation, rather to pomp and display than profit. It gratifies the vanity of a master to be the uncontrolled and unresponsible lord of the life and fortune of his servant, and the supple and flexible manners of the slave afford his pride a gratification which could not be so well satisfied by the less servile and uncertain attentions of a freeman. The slave among the Indian islanders is treated with kindness and tenderness, and considered rather in the light of a child, or favoured domestic, than even a dependant.

Whenever the services of freemen may be obtained on nearly the same terms, the obvious inutility, or rather striking disadvantages, of slavery become evident, and this is the true cause why slavery is unknown to the present race of Javanese, among whom, from the internal evidence of language, and from their writings, it is proved, in earlier times, to have existed as among the other tribes. The numbers and docility of his countrymen will now furnish a Javanese chief with attentions

as supple and servile as any slaves could administer.

On the principle now stated, I think it will be found, that, wherever the manners of the lower orders are most untractable, there slavery mostly prevails, and where they are most docile, it is rarest. For the extremes of both, Celebes and Java may be quoted as examples.

The severest lot of the condition of servitude is no where experienced in the Indian islands. That lot can only be felt in the higher stages of civilization, where there is an immeasurable distance between the political condition of the master and the slave—where the latter is considered as a portion of the stock of the former, and the spirit of gain excludes every other consideration. Of all the masters of slaves in the Indian islands, the Chinese, and the Arabs, alone are disposed to make this use of slaves, but they are themselves depressed orders, jealously watched by their European masters, and, no doubt, in some measure influenced in the treatment of their slaves by the mild example of their native neighbours. The Dutch, in their predilection for slaves, are actuated by the same principles as the natives of the country. Their vanity is gratified by their suppleness and docility, and even in Java, where they might be more cheaply, and as agreeably, served by freemen, their early estrangement from the inhabitants of that country

has now become habitual, and slaves continue to be the fashion with them. These are all domestics, and, with the exceptions which the uncertainty of human passions compels us to make an allowance for, are treated with kindness and humanity.

CHAPTER III.

PUBLIC REVENUE.

Enumeration of the sources of public revenue.—Land-tax.—Its origin traced.—Its amount among the different tribes.—Condition of the cultivator.—Mode of dividing the crop between the cultivator and the sovereign in Java.—Mode of paying salaries and making the public disbursements.—General reflections.—Scheme of a land-tax.—Capitation or poll-tax.—Taxes on consumption.—Monopoly of trade by the sovereign.—Customs.—Transit duties.—Market duties.—Duty on opium and salt.—Principle of farming the public revenue universal.—Its advantage in so rude a state of society.

The object of this chapter is a description of the modes practised by the native governments of the Indian islands for raising a revenue, and will be comprehended under the three heads of Land-tax, Poll-taxes, and Taxes on Consumption. The first of these, on account of the extent to which it is carried, and its influence on the state of society, is out of all proportion the most interesting and important, and will afford the principal matter of this chapter.

Abundant examples of that early period of society before land is appropriated, exist in the In-

dian islands. Even among the most civilized and populous tribes, by far the greater portion of the land is unoccupied and unclaimed, and it is the most fertile and productive alone that yields a rent. The first and rudest description of agriculture in these countries consists in snatching a fugitive crop of rice or maize from a virgin soil, the productive powers of which are increased by the ashes afforded by burning the stupendous forest that stood upon it. This expensive and rude process, from its very nature, supposes the land unappropriated; and, wherever it is practised, we find that no rent is pretended to be exacted. The appropriation of land, and the exaction of rent, in these countries, increased with the introduction of that improved husbandry of rice which consists in growing it by the help of water; a fortunate discovery, which places, of itself, the agriculture of a rude people, in point of productiveness, on a level with that of the most civilized nations. The appropriation of the most fertile lands, and those most conveniently situated for irrigation, with the construction of water courses and dikes, is at once the creation of a property of the most valuable description; and a demand for rent must have been coëval with it. Wherever this description of husbandry prevails, the pretence for the sovereign's first demand of a share of the produce may be traced to the necessity of vesting in the state a general super-

intendence of the distribution of that water of irrigation on which the whole success of the process rests, and which could not, without loss and inconvenience, be left in private hands. It is remarkable that the sovereigns of Bali, as will be afterwards pointed out, though among the most absolute, claim the tax on land solely on the principle of distributing and supplying the water of irrigation. It may, indeed, be suspected that the early establishment of this right or prerogative has afforded the sovereign one of the principal means of subverting the equality of society, and of establishing absolute power.

The legitimate impost exacted as the reward of superintending the water of irrigation, increases in the progress of arbitrary power, and, accordingly, among every tribe where the right of property in the land is established, that is, among the whole of the civilized tribes, the sovereign, in one shape or another, comes at length to be considered as the sole proprietor, and the people as labouring it for his benefit. The proportion exacted as tax depends on the fertility of the soil, the extent of improvement, and the amount of the population. The encroachments of the sovereign advance with the improvement of the society, and the peasant is ultimately left with no more than a bare subsistence. The whole of this subject will be more perfectly understood by fur-

nishing a short account of the condition of landed tenures among the different tribes.

Agriculture can hardly be deemed the primary occupation of the maritime tribes, who are so much engaged in fishing and traffic. Whenever, among them, the right of property in the soil is worth exercising, it is sure to be claimed. I do not discover, among them, that any numerical proportion of the produce of agriculture is claimed, but among those with whom I am best acquainted, a stated tax on all *cultivators* is imposed. This, by the Malays of Perak and Queda, is called *Răpai*, and consists of about one hundred pounds of rice for the land cultivated, be its extent what it will, but that extent, from the state of society, is necessarily limited by the labour of the individual and his family, and cannot exceed a few acres. The nobles, or officers of government, instead of the sovereign, receive this contribution on the estates assigned to them, on a principle to be afterwards explained.

Among the governments of Celebes where the sovereign is every thing, and the people nothing, it would be incompatible with the absolute sway of the former to suppose him not vested with a proprietary right in the land. A tenth is thus the numerical proportion of the crop exacted from the people for the benefit of the immediate lord, from which one-third is paid to the general fund for

the expences of the *supreme* government. It may here be noticed, that a tenth, or tithe, seems to be the numerical proportion determined upon by all the nations of the east, as the sovereign's share of the produce of the land, as soon as his claim is regularly established. It would seem to mean nothing more than the *smallest* share, being the fraction of the denary scale of numeration, and, except in its convenience for computation, to be entirely arbitrary, and unconnected with any rational estimate of the capacity of the soil.

The claim of the sovereigns of Bali to a share of the produce of the land is very peculiarly modified. No numerical proportion is stated, and every thing hinges upon what is most important and indispensable to the peculiar husbandry of the country, the water of irrigation. The land itself is lost sight of, and we do not hear of the sovereign's claim to *the land*, but to *the water*. This singularity arises from the very peculiar circumstances of the island, where all the agriculture that is either valuable or important depends solely on artificial irrigation. In other parts of the Archipelago, indeed, we never hear of any land but cultivated land, and seldom of any but wet rice lands, so that the term for rice lands *(Sawah)* means, in popular language, any landed property whatever. In Bali we see that they go still further, the soil being lost sight of altogether. The dues of the sovereign are not

determined at any numerical proportion, nor have the Balinese any regular land measure by which these dues are assessed. The tax is fixed upon the seed-corn, and not upon the produce. Observing that a given quantity of land, of a given fertility, which fertility is determined by long usage, requires an estimated number of sheaves of seed-corn, they assess each sheaf at a fixed amount, payable partly in money, but mostly in kind.

Among the Sundas, or mountaineers of the west end of Java, a tithe is, as in Celebes, the portion of the crop claimed by the sovereign authority, by whatever name that authority is distinguished; but, from some very good lands, we find double this proportion, or one-fifth claimed.

It is among the Javanese, properly so called, that the proprietary right of the sovereign in the soil is most unequivocally established, and, perhaps, most arbitrarily exercised. The principle is openly avowed and proclaimed. In his patents of nobility, the sovereign bestowing a revenue on the noble, or other chief, distinctly terms the land "our royal property," and he expressly specifies that it is *lent* or given in *trust*, and not alienated. Such is the universality of this principle, that I do not believe, in the whole territory of the native princes, there are a hundred acres, over which, by the customs or laws of the country, any distinct proprietary right could be pointed out, indepen dent

of the sovereign. There may be here and there a little forbearance, from motives of religion or superstition, but a proprietary right in the soil, on the part of a subject, according to the present notions of the people, it will not be going too far to assert, would be unintelligible to them, so strongly contrasted are their opinions and ours on this point.

The more absolute authority of the sovereign in Java,—the greater servility of the people;—the superior fertility of the soil,—and the superior modes of husbandry which prevail, have enabled the sovereign to exact a larger share of the produce of the soil than in any other part of the Archipelago. *One-half* the produce of wet lands, and *one-third* of that of dry lands, are the long established and well known shares of the government. Whether these ratios have been assumed by the Javanese of themselves, as the highest possible scale of exaction which decorum could suggest to such rude financiers, or have been copied from the Hindus, it is not easy to determine, but the exact accordance of this scale with that established among the Hindus of the Deccan, from whom the Javanese borrowed so many of their ancient institutions, is good ground for believing that the latter had at least some share in the establishment of this rate of taxation.

In the condition of the cultivators there is considerable nominal, though perhaps little essential

difference, in the different countries of the Archipelago. The relative situation of the sovereign and cultivator may justly be compared to that of a Russian or Polish lord with his peasants. The European noble estimates the value of his estate, not by the number or fertility of its acres, but by the amount of his peasants. This is exactly what is done in Java. The sovereign, in his letters of nobility, does not say that he gives a certain number of acres, or a certain quantity of land, but that he gives a certain number of cultivators, or, which is the same thing, the labour of a certain number of cultivators. The subject of landed tenures in oriental countries has been, for the first time, admirably explained by the philosophical author of that invaluable and great work, *The History of British India*, when he states, that, "In a country in which the revenue of the sovereign was increased in proportion to the number of cultivators, there would be a competition, not of cultivators for the land, but of the land for cultivators." That "If a ryot cultivated a piece of ground, and paid his assessment punctually to the sovereign, the sovereign would be far from any wish to remove him when it was difficult to supply his place;" and that, "If he sold the ground to another ryot, or left it to a successor, that is, put another in his place who would fulfil the wishes of the sovereign, the sovereign, whose source of fear was

the want of a cultivator, had still cause for satisfaction; and seldom if ever interfered." * This principle is, if possible, still more applicable to the Indian islands than to any part of Hindustan; for the competition of the land for cultivators is still more pressing. There is not a country of the whole Archipelago, the fifth part of which is occupied, and of many the hundredth part is not in a state of culture. It will constantly be found, that, in the agricultural countries which are best peopled, the cultivator is invested with the smallest power over the land, and, on the contrary, that he possesses the greatest power over it in the countries worst peopled, or where the competition for cultivators is greatest. In Celebes, in Bali, and in that ill-peopled portion of Java called the country of the Sundas, the cultivator is invested with a *kind* of proprietary right. By sufferance he can bequeath, alienate, or mortgage his little tenement. In the highly peopled provinces of Java, where the population be-

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* Mill's *History of British India*.—The enlightened Fifth Report of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, and Mr Mill's book, both written by gentlemen who never visited India, and the better for being so, will constitute a new era in the history of our Indian legislation, and are, at once, a proud evidence of the diffusion of knowledge among us, and a satisfactory refutation of the pernicious prejudice that an Indian residence is indispensable to an understanding of Indian affairs.

gins already to press on the good land, the cultivator exercises no such rights over the soil, and I hardly know any privilege which he possesses in regard to it, except the liberty of abandoning it.

Under governments so arbitrary as those of the Indian islands, it would be idle to speak of a private right of property in the soil,—the most tangible of all sources of revenue, and that most invariably within the grasp of an absolute sovereign. A bare establishment of the amount of the peasant's tenement, which never exceeds the little spot which he and his family are capable of labouring with their own hands, and which never increases or accumulates beyond it, is quite conclusive on this subject. Had an actual right of property existed, we should, without doubt, find estates of some magnitude in private hands, accumulated by industry, or acquired by violence. No such estates are found to exist. The unbounded influence of arbitrary power obliterates all private or minor rights.

With all the rudeness, barbarism, and despotism which characterize the governments of the Indian islands, the condition of the peasant or cultivator is perhaps, upon the whole, more fortunate than in any other country of the east. This advantage arises mainly from two causes,—the competition for cultivators and for labour in general, in countries where an extraordinary quantity of good land is still unoccupied,—and the habits and character of

the people themselves, who, from the simplicity of their manners, to give it no higher name, are, when placed in authority, fortunately incapable of practising those refined arts of extortion, chicane, and knavery, with which we are so familiar in the people of Hindustan. The fiscal agents either want the skill or have not the inclination to meddle in the details of the revenue. The village associations are, therefore, left to manage it themselves; and the share of the government is paid by them with good faith, while all classes observe towards each other a great share of forbearance.

The high price of labour, and the extraordinary demand for cultivators, is strikingly exemplified in the wages paid to shearers, which, in every part of Java, is no less than one-sixth of the gross produce, a rate continued even in the most populous provinces of the island, where the competition for labour is necessarily smaller, such among these people is the influence of the empire of custom.

The whole of this subject will be better understood by presenting at once a short sketch of the division of the crop and of the internal organization of the village in regard to it, selecting for an example the institutions of the Javanese, as not only those with which I am myself most familiar, but those, too, which are acknowledged in matters of this nature to be most systematically defined. In Java, the lands are separately tilled by each cultivator, and not in common, as is frequently the case in the

Hindu village. The quantity varies with the fertility of the soil; and the state of population, being generally not less than half an acre, and seldom exceeding half a dozen. The cultivators are upon an equality, until one among them is chosen by themselves, or nominated by their superiors, to preside in the affairs of the village. Even in the latter case, it is a measure of policy not to offer violence to the feelings of the villagers by placing an obnoxious person over them. The chief of the village thus appointed is the person entrusted with the collection of the public revenue, and the following is a fair example of the division which he makes of the crop. Suppose the crop of a given quantity of land consists of sixty parts, one-sixth is deducted from the gross amount at once for reaping, which, in almost all cases, goes necessarily to the cultivator and his family. Of the remaining fifty parts, a twenty-fifth, or four per cent. goes to the village priest or *astrologer*, after which the remainder is divided in equal parts between the cultivator and the sovereign. Although the nominal share of the sovereign and cultivator therefore be one-half each, the actual shares of the parties are as follow:

The cultivator, - -	54 parts.
The priest, - -	2
The sovereign, - -	24
	60

The share of the sovereign is necessarily farther reduced by the remissions he is compelled to make for management; the amount of which, however, it is not practicable to state, as no regular scale of charges is established. One-fifth of the sovereign's share has been occasionally paid as the commission for collection.

From this account of the Javanese village, it will be seen that it possesses many decided advantages over the similar municipal institution of the Hindus. Each man's possession is in his own immediate management, and therefore must feel the advantages of individual exertion and enterprise, which are palsied by the system of common management. The customary allowance of a sixth for reaping is just so much in favour of the cultivator; and his ultimate share with the sovereign is not frittered away by being wasted on the vile herd of miscreants and vagabonds belonging to the Hindu village, under the various and incongruous appellations of astronomers, doctors, poets, musicians, barbers, and dancing girls. Even the lazy artificers of the Hindu village, who receive a share of the crop, and are of course paid on a principle which excludes all the advantages of competition, have no existence in the organization of the Javanese village, each peasant of which resorts to the general market for the best or the cheapest work. This state of things contributes, with the demand for labour, the abundance

of good land; or, to speak in general terms, the progressive state of the society towards improvement, to render the condition of the Javanese cultivator more comfortable than that of the Hindu one, notwithstanding the admitted inferiority of the Javanese to the Hindus in the scale of civilization. That the habitation of the Javanese peasant is neater, his clothing and food better, and his modes of husbandry more perfect, is admitted by all who have had an opportunity of instituting a fair comparison between the Hindus and Javanese.

Another circumstance which contributes materially to the comfort or ease of the husbandman in all the countries of the Indian islands, is the almost universal exemption of all lands from taxation, except those employed in raising bread corn, substitutes for it, or the materials of clothing. In Java, it is roughly estimated by the natives themselves, that one-third of the area of all the arable land is occupied by the sites of villages, including the gardens and orchards interspersed with the buildings. It matters little whether this proportion be accurate or not; the belief that it is so may, at least, be admitted as proof that a very large proportion is so occupied. A Javanese village, and the same observation applies to the villages of the other agricultural tribes, may be described as the mixture of a garden, orchard, and plantation of useful woods, in the grove, formed by which are interspersed the dwellings of

the peasantry. Whatever is grown within the precincts of the village, as here defined, is free from direct taxation, among which may be enumerated a variety of leguminous plants and farinaceous roots, fruits, materials of cordage, and the useful and abundant bamboo, of almost universal application in the domestic and agricultural economy of the cultivator.

If we would know what is the amount of the revenue of a sovereign in the Indian Archipelago, we cannot do this by an examination of the records of his treasury, nor by the extent of his territory, but we can commit no great error if we have ascertained the *number* of his cultivators. The effective records of their exchequers do, in fact, consist of such documents. The revenue in Java, for example, is mostly paid in kind; but, neither in this shape nor in any other, does much of it find its way into the treasury. Almost every one connected with the government or its administration is paid by assignments of land; including princes of the blood, favourites, officers of state, the army, from its highest to its lowest functionaries, and the very menials of the palace. The prince does not say to his first minister, "Your salary shall consist of so much money, but it shall consist of so much corn, or of the produce of the labour of so many cultivators." He holds the same language to one of his grooms. The quantity of land, or, to speak more in the language of

the people, the number of cultivators reserved by the prince for the production of a direct revenue in money or kind, is very inconsiderable. So familiar is the manner of payment by assignments of land to the notions of the people, that one of the distinctions of official rank is founded upon it; and as the Tartar sovereigns of Hindustan ranked their military captains by the nominal establishment of horses assigned to them by the sovereign, so we find the rank of the nobles of Java frequently determined by the number of cultivators on their assignments of land, from the chief of fifty *Chachahs*, or families, to him of five hundred, of a thousand, or upwards. The first minister, for example, whose income, after that of the heir to the throne, is the highest of all, is denominated "the lord of two thousand;" that is, of two thousand cultivators.

As long as a revenue is paid in kind, and as long, indeed, as the character of the people continues what it is, I cannot help thinking that there is an evident advantage in this rude mode of conducting the business of the treasury, if I may so call it. It is, in the first place, attended by marked economy, for the inevitable waste which would accompany its collection by the officers of government is avoided. The cultivator is placed, by this system, either under the protection of an individual, whose interests are assimilated with his own, or who is too

insignificant to injure them, instead of being subjected to the scourge of the venal officers of the revenue. But the greatest advantage which accrues from it is its superseding the employment of a crowd of revenue agents, and that system of chicanery and tergiversation which *must* ever accompany such employment. I feel convinced that it is to the absence of this system, in no small degree, that we must ascribe the candour and good faith which has been remarked in the Javanese cultivator, so strikingly in contrast with the notorious chicanery and mendacity of the demoralized cultivators of Hindustan.

Before concluding this branch of the subject of taxes, some observations will be necessary on its influence on agricultural improvement, and upon the circumstances of society more generally. Except the advantages resulting from superior soil and climate, and a greater abundance of good land in proportion to the number of inhabitants, the agriculture of the Indian islands cannot be deemed to be in a more favourable situation than that of Europe in the middle ages, when the soil was cultivated by wretched bondmen, or tenants at will, whose condition was little better. When the sovereign, as he does in Java, exacts, as tax, *one-half* the produce of the best and greater part of the cultivated lands, and *one-third* of that of the poorest, it is evident that, in such an exorbitant impost, he demands not

merely that portion of the produce of the earth paid to the proprietor for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil, or that which is a remuneration for the expenditure of capital in its improvement, but also the whole of the legitimate profits of the farmer and cultivator. The amount thus exacted is expended in revenue, and falls into unproductive hands,—is spent, in short, upon the court, its officers, or agents, and not a farthing returns to be added to agricultural capital and to the improvement of the land. What but the extraordinary productiveness of the soil, and benignity of the climate, with the peculiar relation of the land to the population, could, for a moment, render so enormous an impost tolerable, and present to us, notwithstanding such disadvantages, the extraordinary spectacle of a rich husbandry under such privations as those of the Javanese cultivator. Should such a system be persevered in when the wages of labour fall, the land becomes scarce, and the population begins to press against the means of subsistence, a period, according to the present rapid increase of population, not extremely remote, the peasantry of Java will be driven to wretchedness and poverty, and to crimes and immorality, to which, even in their present state of degradation, they are strangers. The very best that could be predicted of any system of revenue arrangements, founded on the extravagant and iniquitous principles of the native institutions,

would be the perpetuation of the present abjectness and indigence of the cultivator, and, consequently, the poverty and debasement of the whole society. If, according to Adam Smith, the opulence or poverty of a nation "depends very much, in every country, upon the proportion between that part of the annual produce which, as soon as it comes either from the ground or from the hands of the productive labourers, is destined for replacing a capital, and that which is destined for constituting a revenue either as rent or as profit," Java, and every other country of the Archipelago, are really poor countries, and must, in spite of a soil the most eminently gifted, always continue so while a land-tax, founded on the native principle, or almost any modification of it, is persevered in.

It is only in reference to countries in the occupation of Europeans, that it can be necessary to propose any scheme of amelioration. In doing so, the interests of a very heterogeneous population must be considered. We have to legislate for Europeans, for Chinese, and for a mixed mass of native inhabitants. The law should make no distinction between them. Java is the country which I have chiefly in view in throwing out these suggestions. The first point is to establish a right of private property in the land. In the present abject state of society, there is no class of the native inhabitants to whom it belongs, or that has a better claim to it

than another. This is so universally felt by themselves, that to insist upon it were unnecessary. The sovereign's right to the soil, with the reservation of a land-tax, should then be sold to the highest bidder. This would place the proprietary right where it ought to be, in the hands of men of influence and property. The competition for the first sales of such lands as are in the actual occupation of the natives should be confined to them, but all future sales ought to be unrestricted. This regulation would obviate the inconveniences which might arise from too sudden a transition of rights into the hands of unpractised and inexperienced strangers, but secure eventually the wholesome and familiar admixture of the different races, the only means of reconciling them to each other, and communicating to the least improved the intelligence and information of the most civilized. The competition for *unoccupied* land should be general. Such lands would, of course, fall chiefly into the hands of strangers whose capitals and industry, notwithstanding the inferior fertility of their possessions, would place them on some equality with the natives. As an encouragement to the clearing and cultivation of such lands, they ought to be, according to circumstances, exempted from taxation for a period of ten, twenty, or thirty years. The extent of the lots exposed to sale would necessarily be regulated, in a good measure, by their

fertility or otherwise. That extent should not be so great as to confine the competition to a few great capitalists, incapable, from the extent of their possessions, of improving them with advantage, nor so minute as to throw the lands into the hands of the ignorant and improvident peasantry, still more incapable. Neglected lands should be *resumable* by the state.

Such a measure as now proposed could not be carried into effect at once by the mere issue of a government edict, but ought to be the gradual work of many years. In estimating the amount of the land-tax to be reserved by the state, care should be taken that the tax be confined to what is strictly rent, that is, to a value for the use of the land, and of the land only. * The assessment, by a numerical proportion of the crop, is fallacious and unjust. A sixth of the produce might be a heavier tax on poor lands which demanded much labour in the culture, than a third of that of richer lands. A general standard for the whole country could not be fixed; but a regulated scale for each province or district might easily be framed. The amount of the tax should be invariable and perpetual; and, to obviate any deterioration of the public revenue, ought to be stated in *corn* as well as in money, although paid in the latter; the govern-

* Ricardo's *Prin. of Polit. Econ.* p. 222.

ment reserving to itself the option of adjusting it by a reference to the former, at stated but distant periods of time. The public sale of the government lands would place at the disposal of the state, for a long period of years, a large fund applicable to the general charges of government, or to particular improvements. Strangers of enterprise and capital, chiefly from Europe and China, would be encouraged to settle; improvement would be rapid; and, long before the sale of the whole lands, the prosperity and wealth of the society would furnish, if necessary, other sources of public revenue, which would far more than compensate for any imaginary loss.

According to Mr Ricardo, a tax on rent falls wholly upon landlords, cannot be shifted to any class of consumers, and cannot discourage the cultivation of new lands, for such lands pay no rent. In Java, or any country similarly situated, where there are *no landlords*, and the sovereign is the sole proprietor, it is evident, therefore, that the whole of what is strictly the true rent of land, excluding the produce of capital laid out in improvements, might be taken by the state as tax, without injury or injustice to any class of society. If, along with this, we take into consideration the extraordinary productive powers of the soil of Java, it will not be too much to assert, that no government was ever presented with so favourable an

opportunity of organizing a system of taxation so certain, productive, and beneficial, as the administration of that island has it now in its power to establish.

In speculating upon this vital question I must here remark, that it is upon the justice, liberality, and entire equality, in this as well as all other great questions of legislation, with which the different classes of inhabitants are considered, that the prosperity of European colonies, so circumstanced as those in the Indian islands, must mainly depend. Difference of colour and language are the great obstacles to the happiness, improvement, and civilization of mankind in such situations. We have the fatal example of the Spanish colonies of America to warn us against the danger and impolicy of laws, the tendency of which is to create *castes*. No specific regulation should, therefore, exist for the peculiar protection of any one class. This is not a matter for legislative interference. Every class should be permitted to enter freely into contracts with another; and the dark-coloured races should not be looked upon as minors under the guardianship of the state, or their imbecility will be increased and perpetuated, while their morals will be corrupted by the temptation to evasion and chicanery which the very laws themselves will hold out. I cannot better impress this subject upon the mind of the reader than by quoting the high authority of that en-

lightened philosopher Baron Humboldt, who, speaking of the state of the natives of New Spain, makes the following reflection, which is unexceptionably applicable to the Indian islanders, though certainly a more vigorous, moral, and improved race than the Americans. "In an age when it was formally discussed, whether the Indians were rational beings, it was conceived granting them a benefit to treat them like minors, to put them under the perpetual tutorage of the whites, and to declare null every act signed by a native of the copper-coloured race, and every obligation which he contracted beyond the value of fifteen francs. These laws are maintained in full vigour, and they place insurmountable barriers between the Indians and the other castes, with whom all intercourse is almost prohibited. Thousands of inhabitants can enter into no contracts which are binding; and, condemned to a perpetual minority, they become a charge to themselves, and the state in which they live."*

In almost all the countries of the Archipelago, something in the form of a *capitation* or *poll-tax* is levied, but, when more closely examined, this impost is discovered to be another form of assessing the land, being a tax levied on the cultivation or cultivators jointly, and on no other class of the people. It does not bear a proportion to the rent or quali-

* *Political Essay on New Spain*, Book II. chap. 6.

ty of the land, except that it is confined to *wet* lands. Its amount is but a mere trifle. The western inhabitants of Java term the tax *Pägalantang*, and the eastern *Pachumplang*, sometimes sarcastically *Pangawang*, or *air-tax*, which is as much as to say, that they are not convinced that it is exacted on any reasonable ground! The demand of one-half the produce of their labour from the soil does not appear extravagant or unreasonable, so natural does this prerogative of the sovereign appear to them; but the trifling poll-tax is not so much associated with their habits and feelings, and is consequently unpopular. I conjecture that, in the first instance, it was a *tribute* levied on conquered countries. The eastern Javanese, when they conquered the Sundas, in the reign of the *Great Sultan*, imposed this tax on the conquered people, while the land-tax was left to their natural chiefs.

It would be in vain to pretend to render an account of all the *irregular contributions* and *requisitions* to which a people are liable who labour under the evils of a rude and arbitrary government. At festivals, at marriages and births, whether in the family of the sovereign or of the chief who presides over them, the cultivators are called upon for contributions. In the transportation of public property, or the conveyance of the minions of the court or its officers—in the repair or construction of roads, bridges, and other public works, the ser-

vices of the people are exacted unmercifully, and without thanks or reward.

In Java a direct tax is imposed on *fisheries*. Extensive tracts of country along the sea side, consisting of salt marshes, and little inlets of the sea, have been converted into fish-ponds, in which are bred the ordinary sea fish in great quantities. The sovereign claims a proprietary right in the greater number of these fish-ponds, and derives a large revenue from farming them.

Taxes on *consumption* in these countries are but of comparatively recent introduction, and, perhaps, have been owing chiefly to the example of the Chinese. A direct tax is a plain mode of levying a revenue, but an indirect impost a less obvious one. The first attempt to tax foreign commerce is in making a monopoly of it, and the principle is still adhered to in most of the native governments of the Archipelago. The petty prince must have the refusal of the stranger's cargo, or such parts of it as may suit his fancy; he barters his goods in return, and it is only through favour or forbearance that the foreign merchant is permitted to trade with private persons. Buying cheap and selling dear are gross expedients which readily occur, but the wisdom of encouraging trade by moderate imposts, of which the result would be a much ampler revenue to the sovereign, implies a refinement and forethought of which the rude understandings of the

Indian islanders are incapable. It is only with a very few of the native princes, and these commonly Arabs, or of Arabian stock, that a better system has been partially adopted.

Transit duties are another rude expedient, resorted to universally in all eastern countries, wherever roads or inland navigation exist. The roads and rivers of Java may be described as absolutely infested with such impositions. As the toll varies with every station, or custom-house, and is variously assessed on every description of goods, without reference to any rational principle, it would be in vain to attempt rendering any account of the rate of taxation.

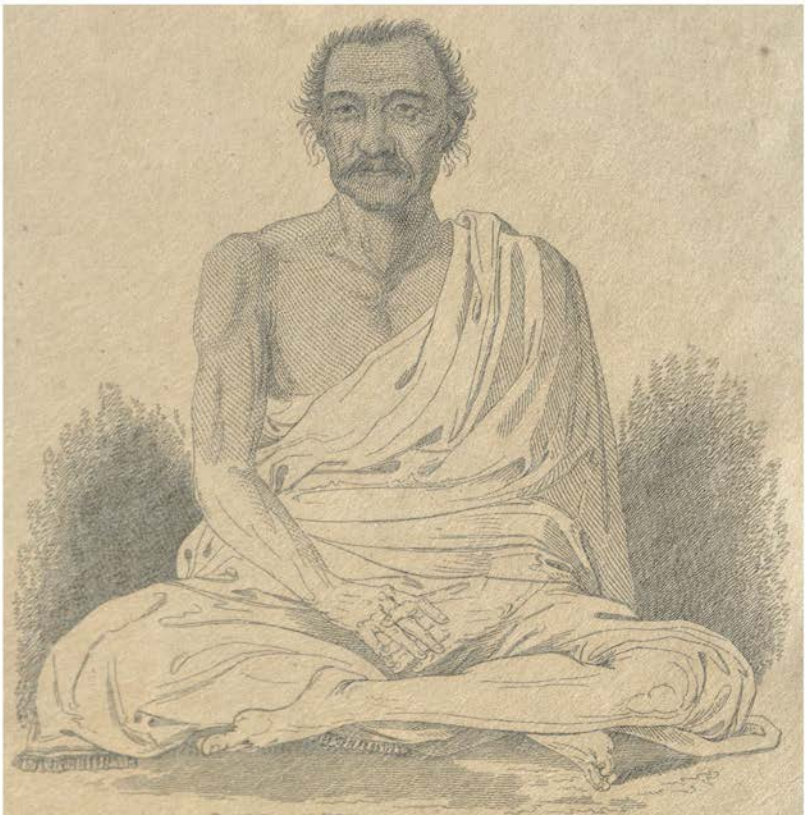
Another set of taxes of the same character consists in *imposts* levied on all goods sold in the public *markets*, and repeated with every sale. The impost thus levied may be said to consist of three parts, a monopoly of the market-place, the ground rent of the stall where the goods are exposed, and the direct tax on the goods. It is unnecessary to say that a tax levied on the first and third principle, is a tax on industry of the most pernicious kind. These rude and unskilful financiers make no distinction between a tax upon the necessaries of life and a tax upon luxuries, innocent or vicious. The productiveness of the tax, and the facility of levying it, are the only questions. Foreign and domestic manufactures, raw and wrought produce, the

necessaries of life, including corn of every kind, and animal food, are alike objects of this form of taxation. It is upon this principle that opium, the substitute of the Indian islanders for wines and spirits, and salt, the universal subject of heavy taxation in all ages, and almost all countries, are equally objects of extraordinary and distinct taxation. In Java, the great manufacturing country of salt, the commodity was sold on the spot where it was made at about *fifteen* times its natural value,—in distant places, sometimes as high as *seventy* times. Opium, in the same country, may be reckoned to be sold at about four times the amount of the monopoly sales in India, and at probably not less than ten times the natural cost. In every part of the Archipelago, opium and salt are, under one form or another, objects of a rigid monopoly on the part of the governments.

The system of farming the public revenue, in all its departments, is universal in the Indian islands, wherever European influence has made no innovation. The farmers are either natives of the east coast of the peninsula of India, or Chinese, but most frequently the latter. We hear them generally denominated *Bandar*, a corruption in orthography, and a more palpable one in meaning, of the Persian word *Bănd*ă*r*, a sea-port, or commercial emporium, which the accommodating genius of the Polynesian tongues applies not only to the custom-houses on the coast, but to the toll ports of the interior, where the

transit duties are levied, and, as now stated, even to the farmer himself. In the early state of commerce in all countries, the pernicious system of farming such branches of the public revenue as consist of taxes on consumption is general. From the peculiar commercial capabilities of the Indian islands, and the resort of strangers, they may justly be said to be possessed of a share of trade beyond its usual extent, in countries of equal civilization. The incapacity and ignorance of men in their state of society, renders the Indian islanders quite unequal to the details of a business of any degree of complexness, and the necessary consequence is, that the management of the revenue, in all the more difficult branches, falls into the hands of rapacious strangers. The employment of the Chinese in the *direct* collection of the duties is found impracticable from their utter want of moral character and integrity, so that the farming system becomes, by necessity, the only resource, and the only means of securing the just amount of the public revenue, is the disposal of the farms by the competition of a public sale. Even in European establishments, from the unwise restraints imposed on European colonization, the employment of European officers in the direct management of the revenue has not been found to answer. The smallness of their numbers does not admit of the employment of

instruments either sufficiently cheap, or sufficiently expert. They are both unwilling for, and unequal to the task of bestowing the attention necessary to the minute details of a laborious business. Under their management the inferior agents of the revenue commit depredations on the trader, the revenue suffers defalcation, and nothing is gained. The employment of the Chinese farmers, therefore, as long as the impolitic principle of interdicting European colonization is persisted in, is far less injurious both to the subject and the state. The native trader, who would hesitate to complain of the injustice of an European agent, will not fail to complain of that of a Chinese one, who possesses no political power, and is an object of jealousy, but not of fear, both to the trader and the man in power. On this subject I speak distinctly from the results of my own personal experience in the control of two of the most considerable commercial establishments in the Archipelago, those of Samarang, and Surabaya, in Java. Until, in the progress of colonization, an active race of Europeans, by constitution fit to bear the climate, and by education and experience equal to transact business with the various inhabitants of these countries, be available, the assumption of the direct management of those branches of the public revenue, to which I have alluded, by the servants of the European government, will prove injurious both to the sovereign and the subject.



Drawn & Engraved by W. H. Lizars from a Sketch by Capt. Delafosse.

BUKYAN,

an Ida or Bramin of Bali.

Edinburgh, Published by Constable & Co. 1820.

CHAPTER V.

LAWS.

Laws of the Indian islanders a mixture of native Hindu and Arabian law.—Account of writings on jurisprudence.—Modes of administering justice.—Courts.—Proceedings.—Rules of evidence.—Civil laws.—*Purchase and sale.—Deposits.—Letting and hiring.—Loans.—Laws of inheritance.—Marriage-contract.*—Penal laws.—*Description of punishments.—Frequency of capital punishment.—Of fine.—Affront, or personal insult, a punishment by law.—Outlawry.—Modes of execution.*—Lex talionis.—*Pecuniary compensation for crimes.—Allotment of punishment according to rank.—Offences against property.—Theft.—Robbery.—Offences against persons.—Abusive language.—Right of avenging wrongs in a great measure left in private hands, and employment of hired champions to avenge private quarrels.—Wounding.—Murder and manslaughter.—Injuries offered to* the sex.—*Seduction.—Adultery.—Offences against the sovereign.—Exercise of unlawful authority.—Giving false information.—Counterfeiting the royal signet.—Treason and rebellion.—Offences against the laws of nature.—Sorcery.—Marriages within prohibited degrees.*

HAVING rendered an account of the forms of government among the Indian islanders, I shall conclude this book by a sketch of their laws, in the course of which I shall rather attempt to shew their spirit and character than enter into any minute

details concerning them. This may be done under the four following heads :—viz. History and Arrangement of the Laws,—Forms of Judicatory,—Civil Laws, and Penal Laws.

As in other departments, so in that of the laws, the Hindus, the Arabs, or both, have imparted a share of their *learning* to the Indian islanders. The laws of all the civilized tribes consist, accordingly, of a commixture of native customs and of Hindu and Mahomedan jurisprudence. From the remarkable opposition which exists in the state o society among the Indian islanders, and that of the Hindus and Arabs, we must be prepared to find that the peculiar codes of the two latter people would be but very partially adopted by the former,—that laws framed for a *populous* country, in which the odious institution of the *castes* was rigidly established, or for the shepherds of the arid and sterile plains of Arabia, could not be transferred, without modification, to the simple, rude, and scanty population of the verdant and luxuriant islands of the equator.

The reigning religion of the Archipelago, as has been fully described in another department of this work, is the Mahomedan, which necessarily implies the inseparable existence of the Mahomedan law. In a period of about two centuries and a half, which elapsed from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, almost all the

considerable nations of the Indian islands adopted the Mahomedan religion, the work of conversion commencing naturally from the west and proceeding eastward. The degree in which they have adopted the laws and doctrines of Mahomed have been proportioned to the degree of civilization in which the natives were found, and to the greater or smaller intercourse which has since subsisted between them and the Mahomedan nations of the west.

The Mahomedan law is *nominally* established among the whole of the converted tribes, and in *penal* and *ecclesiastical* jurisprudence is followed pretty closely. Tracts on Mahomedan law, following the doctrines of *Shafihi*, or his pupils, are in circulation in every country of the Archipelago, accompanied occasionally with commentaries or translations in the vernacular languages. To furnish any detailed account of these would be foreign to the nature of my undertaking, the object of which is to delineate the peculiar features of a state of society widely different from that for which the Mahomedan code was framed, or its commentaries composed. The state of society among all the tribes of the Indian islanders differs so essentially from the latter, that, notwithstanding the avowed supremacy of Mahomedan law, it is hardly applied in any case, without considerable latitude and modification. Local usages and customs are *covertly* of authority,

and among several of the principal tribes, have been committed to writing. In the languages of the western tribes, these written collections are generally denominated *Undang*, a word, which, in the leading language, the Javanese, means a royal order or edict, and points distinctly enough at their nature and origin, being all compilations made by express order of some particular monarch. None of them, of course, bear date earlier than the introduction of Mahomedanism, and the greater number are indeed coëval with this event, or were compiled immediately after it. It may be presumed, that these collections are founded on the written laws which were in existence with each particular tribe before the conversion. Under the name of *Kuntara*, for example, the Balinese have still a collection of native laws, slightly modified by Hinduism, which bears a strong affinity with the Malayan collections called *Undang*. In attempting to render an account of the jurisprudence of the Indian islanders, I shall freely quote these different collections. All of them display a remarkable character of rudeness and barbarism. Institutions so imperfect, indeed, have never, in all probability, been, among any other people, committed to writing. No attempt is made in them at arrangement or classification, but the most incompatible matters are blended together, and the forms of judicature, criminal and civil jurisprudence, maxims of mo-

rality, and commercial regulations, are incongruously intermixed.

I proceed to render some account of the arrangements for the maintenance of order and tranquillity, and for the administration of justice. We are fully prepared to understand what the character of these *must* be from what has been already said on the subject of government. As in all rude perious of society, the chief, lord, king, or sovereign, under whatever name recognized, administers the law. In the smaller communities, he does so in person; in the larger ones by delegate. The administration of the laws is, in fact, but a subordinate branch of executive government, conducted by one and the same hands. In the law terms used by the Javanese, accordingly, any injury offered to the persons or property of the king's subjects are termed injuries to him: Thus *doso rojo-brono*, literally the crime against the king's property, is theft; *doso rojo-tatu*, meaning literally wounding the king, is wounding or maiming in general; and *doso rojo-pati*, the crime of killing the king, is murder. In the larger communities, to save trouble, the usual expedient, in such cases, of law assessors, has been had recourse to. The sovereign or his minister has his assessor,—the delegates of the sovereign, in the administration of the provinces, theirs,—and all the subdelegates of these, in a third or fourth series, theirs also, the prin-

cipal always interfering whenever he has leisure or inclination to do so. This general account I shall illustrate by a particular statement of the mode of administering justice among the Javanese. A kingdom, in that island, is an aggregate of villages each of which has within itself a distinct local jurisdiction, which may be described as a sort of corporation *by sufferance*. This corporation consists of a *chief*, a *second*, a *priest*, a *register*, or writer, *elders*, and the *tenants* of the land; or, which is the same thing, the tenants of the sovereign. Sometimes the principal village-officers are elected by their fellow-villagers, and at other times by a superior. In whatever way nominated, it happens, that, from the equality of their fortunes, or, in other words, from the poverty of all, a great degree of freedom and equality subsists between the members of these little societies. Petty disputes are settled by the chief and elders in public, or written evidence of matters of greater moment is taken down by them, to be transmitted to higher authority. Arrangements are made by the same authority for the protection of the joint property, and for that of the goods of strangers or passengers, by the nomination of nightly watches and patroles. The village associations are *superintended* by officers of various names, who are the delegates or lieutenants of the governors of provinces. These have their law assessors and courts, which take cognizance of

matters of higher moment than lie within the jurisdiction of the village-officers. They are responsible in their turn to the governors of provinces, who have their minister or assistant, their law assessors, writers, and registers, &c. which, in name and nature, are a literal copy of the supreme authority at the seat of government, now to be more particularly described. The supreme court of justice, at the seat of government, nominally consists of the *four* following persons, called, from their importance, "the nails which fix the kingdom," *Patoh Nägoro*,—the sovereign,—his minister,—the high-priest, and the judge of common law. The sovereign never administers justice in person, but interferes when he thinks proper, as well on the general principle of his authority as an arbitrary prince, as because he is the head of the church, *Panoto Agomo*, law and religion in the East being always inseparable. His minister is also too much occupied to devote much time to the administration of justice, the consequence of which is, that it is left nearly altogether to the *Pangulu*, or high-priest, and to the *Jaksa*, or native judge. The first is presumed to be *learned* in the Mahomedan law, and takes rank of the second, who is employed in minor details of mere drudgery, and is presumed to be familiar with those peculiar customs and usages which are deviations from the Mahomedan law.

The court is an open one, and, to give solemnity to the proceedings, is held in the portico, *Săram-bi*, of the principal mosque. The Indian islanders are not by nature litigious; and in their poverty, it is not reasonable to expect that important rights of property should often be contested among them. Civil disputes are settled in the inferior courts rather by a kind of arbitration than by judicial process, so that the duties of the superior court, now described, are chiefly confined to criminal trials, principally capital offences.

In all important cases the evidence is formally recorded in writing, and the whole procedure, as I have frequently witnessed, is conducted with calmness, deliberation, and decorum. The details are slow and tedious, but the whole process sufficiently expeditious.

Peculiarity of local situation and manners has given rise to various distinctions in the *distribution* of judicial authority. Among the Hindu population of Bali the Brahmins administer justice. Among the Malay tribes the peculiarity of their maritime situation and their commercial habits has given rise to a peculiar distribution of judicial authority, which is expressed, in the Institutes of Malacca, as follows :—" The authority of the minister, *Băndahara*, extends over men in office,—lords,—sons of nobles of the first rank, and the royal guards, *Biduinda*, that of the minister of

police, *Tumangung*, over the affairs of the country generally, and over beggars, destitute persons and orphans;—that of the admiral, *Laksimana*, over all maritime affairs, and all the concerns of the dependent provinces of the state;—and that of the Intendant of the Port, *Shahbandar*, over the affairs of the port, over all merchants, and over all strangers." The most remarkable of these is the authority delegated to the admiral. He is declared to be "the king" when at sea, and then to have the power of life and death. It is singular that this power is not confined to this superior naval officer alone, but expressly belongs by law even to the master of a trading-vessel. The following law, from the Malacca collection, specifies all the officers or persons to whom this dangerous power is entrusted: "The persons who have the power of inflicting the punishment of death are the minister, *Bandahara*, in the absence of the king, or within his own particular jurisdiction, (literally his own river,)—the minister of police, *Tumangung*, when engaged in apprehending criminals,—the admiral, *Laksimana*, when in the harbour, and he is disobeyed, or when on the high-seas,—and the commander of a trading-vessel when he is at sea, for he is then *as the king*. But the authority of this latter extends only to the *great crimes* of taking another man's wife or concubine, or meditating to run a muck."

The judicial proceedings, as already mentioned, are conducted with much solemnity, and the ancient laws punish want of attention to the forms of the court. In the Javanese laws we have, with this view, the following singular enactments, so characteristic of the simple manners of the people: "If a person refuse to pay attention to the forms of court he shall be fined ten pieces of money."—"If a person address the judge out of his turn he shall be fined two pieces of money."—"If any one bring victuals or other gift to the judge, when he has a suit in court, he shall lose his cause."

The prosecutor, or plaintiff, states his own cause to the judge, often in a strain of considerable eloquence, and he then produces his witnesses. The accused makes his defence in a similar manner, and, in his turn, brings forward his evidence. The judge hears and decides forthwith, and the sentence is carried into effect on the spot. Attorneys or advocates are seldom or ever had recourse to.

The following is the description of the qualifications and duties of a Javanese judge, from a work called *Niti Praja*:* "A judge must, in all cases, be impartial, to enable him to weigh all causes which come before him with the same exactness that merchandise is weighed in a scale, and

* Raffles's *History of Java*, Vol. I. p. 277.

nicely balance the equilibrium; nothing adding or taking from either side."—"He must be above all bribery, either by words or money, and never allow himself to be induced to commit an act of injustice; for, were a judge to commit an act of this kind, the consequence could not but be highly injurious to the country."—"He must not accept presents of any kind from the parties whose cause comes before him, not only because he cannot expect to derive advantage therefrom, but also because the public will hold discourse concerning him highly injurious to his reputation."—"All causes in dispute must be decided upon by him, with the least possible delay, according to law, and not kept long in suspense to the injury of the parties concerned, lest he be considered like a holy man, who, for the sake of money, sacrifices his good name."—"A judge must inquire into every circumstance relating to the causes brought before him, and duly investigate the evidence; after which he must take the cause into consideration. He must not in the least listen to what is false, and, on all occasions, decide according to truth." Such self-evident maxims, and crude instructions for the conduct of a judge, could only, thus pompously, be paraded in a very rude and early stage of social union, and of the science of ethics. The judge, in all these cases, being no more than the law assessor, the law makes no scruple in punish-

ing *him* severely. In a treatise on Javanese law, composed immediately after the conversion to Mahomedanism, and called the "Sun of the Universe," *Surya Alăm*, after an enumeration of the duties of the judge, *Jaksa*, it is deliberately declared, "If he is found ignorant of these things, he shall have his tongue cut out;" and, if the next in order to the judge, *Jăjănang*, shall, in acting for the judge, prove deficient in a knowledge of his duty, he too shall either have his tongue cut out, lose both his ears, or have red-hot pincers applied to his lips."—"In the third place," it adds, "any incorrect statement in writing shall be punished with the loss of both hands. Should neither of these sentences be carried into effect, the judge ought, at all events, to be banished the country. This punishment, however, may be mitigated by the Raja, who, having compassion on the judge, may recall him after one year's banishment." *

Even the capacity or learning of the judge, or law assessor, appears, on some occasions, to be treated with very little ceremony. In one law of the ancient Javanese, it is declared, that, if he be silenced in a discussion with one of the parties who dispute a point with him, he shall be fined forty thousand *pichis*.

* Raffles's *Java*, Vol. II. Appendix, p. 33.

The *rules of evidence*, as among all barbarous people, are arbitrary and capricious. At present, they are, among the Mahomedan nations of the Archipelago, determined principally by the sacred text of the Koran, and by its commentaries. By the ancient laws of the Javanese, or, which is the same thing, by the present laws of Bali, women, slaves, stammerers, lame or maimed people, persons afflicted with such loathsome disorders as leprosy, or epilepsy, &c., were excluded from giving testimony in a court of justice.

The collection of Malacca decides in the following words, who are to be deemed competent, and who incompetent witnesses. " Competent witnesses are persons of virtue, just persons, *pious* persons, and freemen. Incompetent witnesses are persons of bad character, slaves, and women. The latter are admissible, however, in affairs of pregnancy, and in those which regard female complaints. In affairs of marriage, they are by no means to be admitted."

The rules of evidence among the people of *Passummah* are as follow: " In order to be deemed a competent and unexceptionable evidence, a person must be of a different family, and *dusun* from the person in whose behalf he gives evidence, of good character, and a freeman; but, if the dispute be between two persons of the same *dusun*, persons of such *dusun* are allowed to be complete

evidence." This singular law is framed to provide against the feuds and animosities prevailing between the inhabitants of different villages, and affords a striking picture of the violence and anarchy of the state of society among these people.

Witnesses are not, as among us, examined on oath; for oaths are not administered but with much solemnity. Among the different tribes, there are various forms of administering an oath. The military tribes of Celebes swear by their drawn krises, with the Koran held over their heads, as already described in the account of their manners, in the first volume. The people of Sumatra swear by their heir-looms. The Javanese swear by the Koran in the mosque with great solemnity, the ceremony occupying frequently more than an hour, and consisting chiefly in the recitation by the priest of pertinent and impressive passages from the sacred volume. The form of words used by the people of Sumatra is to the following effect: "If what I now declare is truly and really so, may I be freed and clear from my oath; if what I assert is wittingly false, may my oath be the cause of my destruction." * The oath pronounced by the Javanese is very remarkable. "If," says the Javanese peasant, with perfect simplicity, "I speak

* History of Sumatra.

falsehood, may I meet with misfortune; but if I speak the truth, may I receive the blessing of the prophet of God, of all the saints of Java, and of my *lord* and *king*, who now reigns," *ratu*. The mosque is the most common place for administering an oath, but some of the tribes consider the shrines of saints, or the burying-ground of their ancestors, as places of more solemnity.

Among all the tribes, it is the principal rather than the witnesses that are sworn. "In many cases," says Mr Marsden,* "it is requisite they should swear to what it is not possible, in the nature of things, they should know to be true. A sues B for a debt due from the father or grandfather of B to the father or grandfather of A. The original parties are dead, and no witness of the transaction survives. How is the matter to be decided? It remains with B to make oath that his father or grandfather never was indebted to those of A, or that, if he was indebted, the debt had been paid. This, among us, would be considered a very strange method of deciding causes, but among these people something of the kind is absolutely necessary. As they have no sort of written accounts, nor any thing like records or registers among them, it would be utterly impossible for the plaintiff to establish the debt by a positive proof in a multitude of cases;

* History of Sumatra, p. 239.

and, were the suit to be dismissed at once, as with us, for want of such proof, numbers of innocent persons would lose the debts really due to them, through the knavery of the persons indebted, who would scarce ever fail to deny a debt."

The Javanese administer an oath on the same principle, though not so often in civil as in criminal cases. A murder, for example, has been committed, and the relations prosecute the person suspected to have committed it. If there be either no evidence, or but inadequate evidence, the prisoner will be directed by the court to swear to his own innocence. When we are sufficiently aware of the character of the inhabitants of these countries, the practice will not appear so unreasonable as it seems at first view. There are no people who have a more sacred regard for the sanctity of an oath. In a court of justice their character appears to great advantage. Truth and simplicity are the decided characteristics of their testimony.—There is generally no legal punishment among them for perjury, which is left to the vengeance of the invisible powers. The laws of the Malays alone punish this offence, and the code of Malacca describes the kind of punishment in one case as follow: "If a person give false evidence before the Intendant of the Port, his face shall be streaked with charcoal and turmeric, and he shall be publicly exposed; or be fined to the amount of two *tahils*." Among

some of the tribes, collateral oaths are deemed necessary, and the testimony of an accused person must be corroborated by that of others, somewhat in the manner of the compurgators of the middle ages of Europe. Among those people, however, it is the relations of the deceased alone that are sworn. Marsden gives the following interesting account of the practice: "In administering an oath, if the matter litigated respects the property of the grandfather, all the collateral branches of the family descended from him are understood to be included in its operation; if the father's effects only are concerned, or the transactions happened in his lifetime, his descendants are included; if the affair regards only the present parties, and originated with them, they and their immediate descendants only are comprehended in the consequences of the oath; and if any single one of these descendants refuses to join in the oath, it vitiates the whole; that is, it has the same effect as if the party himself refused to swear; a case that not unfrequently occurs. It may be observed, that the spirit of this custom tends to the requiring a weight of evidence, and an increase of the importance of the oath, in proportion as the distance of time renders the fact to be established less capable of proof in the ordinary way." *

* History of Sumatra, p. 241.

Obtaining evidence by *torture*, though practised occasionally in the wantonness of tyranny, can hardly be said to belong either to the character of the Indian islanders, or the spirit of their institutions.

The trial by *combat* or duel, and the appeal to the judgment of God by various descriptions of ordeal, are not unknown. The Malay laws direct that the combat or ordeal shall be had recourse to in the absence of evidence, in the following words: "If one accuse and another deny, and there be no witnesses on either side, the parties shall either fight or submit to the ordeal of melted tin or boiling oil. The latter consists in extracting with the hand, at a single dip, from the boiling liquid, a slip of paper with a verse of the Koran written upon it. If the accusation be that of taking a man's wife, and the accuser won in the ordeal, the accuser shall be put to *death;* if the accused be successful, then the accuser shall *suffer death*, or *pay a fine* of ten *tahils.*"

Having rendered this account of the modes of administering justice, I shall proceed to give a sketch of the character of the *Civil laws* of the Indian islanders. Where poverty excludes frequent or large exchanges of property in moveables, and where the proprietary right of the soil is usurped by the sovereign, the compact of purchase and sale are sufficiently simple. Goods are by custom sold

in the public market. The three following laws of the Javanese are descriptive of their manners touching this point: "If a man purchase a piece of cloth without examination, and, carrying it home, discovers, on washing it, that it is holed, he shall proceed with it to the magistrate, who will endeavour to find out whether the defect in the cloth be recent or of long standing. If the latter, the vender shall make good the loss; if the former, the purchaser; and, if the matter appear dubious, the loss shall be shared between them."—"If a person, after having given something to another, afterwards repent, and demand it back, alleging that he had only given it in charge, and the defendant bring witnesses to prove that the property was actually given to him, he shall be entitled to keep it, and the plaintiff shall be fined, besides, to the amount of 8000 *pichis*. If, however, the defendant, in the last case, should fail to prove that the property was actually given to him, he shall be compelled to make restitution two-fold, and pay, besides, a fine of 12,000 *pichis*."

The laws of the Indian islanders provide for *deposits* principally in the case of travellers. When a traveller arrives at a village, it is his duty to report himself to the chief, and consign his goods to his charge. If they are lost, the village is responsible. Even the owner of a house is by law or cus-

tom responsible for the goods of a stranger sleeping under his roof, if such goods have been duly consigned to his care. The laws of the Rejangs on this subject are as follow:—"If a person passing the night in the house of another does not commit his effects to the charge of the owner of it, the latter is not accountable, if they are stolen during the night. If he has given them in charge, and the stranger's effects only are lost during the night, the owner of the house becomes accountable. If effects both of the owner and lodger are stolen, each is to make oath to the other that he is not concerned in the robbery, and the parties put up with their loss, or retrieve it as they can." *

The provisions for *letting* and *hiring* are scanty and ill-defined. They chiefly refer to cattle and slaves, the principal descriptions of property that can be let where free servants are hardly known, and the property of the soil is vested in the sovereign. The following are a few of them, from the laws of Malacca:—"If a person hire a slave from another, and it be well understood on what business he is to be employed, and the slave be killed, the master shall receive but three-fourths of his price; that is, he shall lose one-fourth of it."—"If a person

* Marsden's *History of Sumatra*, p. 221.

hire a slave for the express purpose of climbing trees, the master being fully aware thereof, and the slave fall and be killed, the master shall receive an equitable return for the price of his slave."—"If a man hire from another a slave, and have said to the master beforehand, 'he may possibly be killed,' and the master reply, 'if he be killed, let him be killed,' and it turn out that the slave is really killed, the master shall receive but one-third of his price; that is, he shall forfeit two-thirds."—"If a person hire a buffalo, and place the animal in an enclosure near a dwelling, and, in that situation, it be killed by a tiger, he shall restore half his price only, for he was not to blame; but, if the buffalo have been placed in a pen at a distance from a dwelling, then he shall pay his full price."—"If a man hire a woman, and deflower her, he shall be fined one *tahil* and one *paha*, but if with the woman's consent, only five *mas*."—"If a man hire a female slave, and violate her, he shall, if she have been a virgin, pay to her master a fine of ten *mas*, one piece of cloth, and one vest, *Baju;* but if the woman have been a widow, the fine is only five *mas*, and no cloth or vest. This is the law of the *town*, *nǎgri*, the country, *desa*, and the river, *Sungai*.

In the Javanese laws, I discover two enactments respecting the letting of lands, sufficiently declaratory of the arbitrary violence which prevails on this subject. They are as follow: "If a person sub-

let rice grounds, and, receiving the rent in advance, absconds, and the lord, *gusti*, have not been made acquainted with the transaction, the person hiring the lands shall forfeit the money advanced, and shall not have the use of the lands."—"If a man get rice lands from another to work, and neglect them, and the said lands lie over unemployed, the *lord* shall have a right to the profit of such lands, agreeably to their usual produce." *

Loans, as in other rude states of society, where neither law nor morals encourage integrity in commercial transactions, are usually made on pledges, *gade*. These pledges are usually the jewels and personal trinkets of the borrower or his family. Interest paid for the use of money has been known to the Indian islanders from very early times. The following law, from the ancient code of Java, at present in force in Bali, describes particularly the mode of lending money: "Before you lend money, whether gold, silver, or copper, perform ablutions and purify yourself. Neither ought you to lend on a wrong day, on a Thursday or a Sunday. When you are prepared, write down the name of the debtor, the place of his residence, and the cause of lending your money. Let all this be done in presence of the borrower; let the amount of the sum lent be written down, with the *year*, the *sea-*

* Laws of Java and Bali.

son, the moon, the day of the week of seven, and the day of the week of five days, the time of the day, and the *wuku*. Let the rate of interest be moreover stated, and let there be witnesses to the writing. Such an instrument is called a *Pawitan*. Let the interest of money, *Bungah*, (literally the flower of it,) be paid yearly, at the end of which, if it have been demanded, and is refused, the borrower shall be compelled to pay *double* the amount of the capital."

Interest in kind for loans seems also acknowledged by the same laws; thus, "If a man owe a debt in corn, and the time exceed five years, he shall be compelled by the magistrate to make restitution five-fold." The exorbitancy of the penalty in these cases declares the unskilfulness of the legislator, and the difficulty of recovering the debt. By the laws of the Rejangs, the legal interest of money was declared to be 150 per cent. per annum. Commodore Beaulieu tells us, that, in his time, the interest of money at Achin was arbitrarily limited to 12 per cent., but that, at Bantam, it was as high as 60. It was hardly less among the other tribes, though it is generally difficult to state any specific amount, the rate varying with the risk of lending, and the declaration of the Mahomedan law, that all interest is usury, making it difficult to avow it.

If a debtor is unable to pay his creditor, he is

compelled to serve him until the debt be discharged, and he is then nearly in the condition of a slave. Every man has his fixed price; and, if the debt exceed this, he either loses his liberty altogether, or his family are compelled to serve the creditor along with him.

The following two laws of Malacca have reference to this practice: "If a man be in debt to such an amount as to exceed his estimated price in the country, then it shall be lawful for his creditor to punish him by stripes or abusive language—but after the manner of a freeman, and *not* of a slave." —"If a man deflower a virgin that is his *debtor*, he shall be compelled either to marry her or forfeit the amount of the debt."

This universal custom is more distinctly expressed in the laws of Sumatra, as collected by the officers of the British government: "When a debt," say these, "becomes due, and the debtor is unable to pay his creditor, or has no effects to deposit, he shall himself, or his wife, or his children, live with the creditor as his bond slave or slaves, until redeemed by the payment of the debt."

With respect to *inheritance*, the converted tribes, in this matter, are chiefly guided by the complex rules of Mahomedan jurisprudence. Where there is a right of private property in land, or at least the *usufruct* of it, there is generally a community of goods among the members of a family. It is held

in the name of the father or elder male of the family, and hence, by the customs of the greater number of the tribes, the father, or nearest of kin, is answerable for the debts of all the members of a family. I can nowhere discover, in any of the collections of native laws which have fallen into my hands, that the right of devising property by will had any existence among the tribes of the Indian islands.—The law of inheritance, among the people of *Pasummah*, in Sumatra, is as follows: "If a person dies having children, these inherit his effects in equal portions, and become answerable for the debts of the deceased. If any of his brothers survive, they may be permitted to share with their nephews, but rather as matter of courtesy than right, and only when the effects of the deceased devolved to him from his father or grandfather. If he was a *man of rank*, it is common for the son who succeeds him in title to have a larger share. This succession is not confined to the eldest born, but depends much on *private agreement in the family*. If the deceased person leaves no kindred behind him, the tribe to which he belonged shall inherit his effects, and be answerable for his debts." *

The ceremonies of *marriage* have been already described, in a separate department; and I have only, in this place, to allude to the nature and

* Marsden's Sumatra.

character of the marriage-contract, considered as an institution of law. The marriage-contract, among the whole of the tribes, is a purchase of the use of the woman's person by the man, for a pecuniary or other consideration. Besides the concubinage established among persons of rank, in which the concubine is a person of humble condition, the mere handmaid of the more legitimate wife, there are generally three kinds of marriage in use. The *first*, and most common, consists in paying the father or protector of the young woman a specific sum, varying in amount according to the different manners of the different tribes, and the different condition in life of the parties. When the whole of the sum agreed upon is paid, the woman, among many of the tribes, becomes literally the property, or, in other words, the slave, of the husband, who may sell, or otherwise dispose of her, as if she were actually a slave. Except, however, in the case of a violent quarrel between the families of the parties, a trifling instalment is always left unpaid; and, as long as this continues to be the case, and the *bargain* is incomplete, the woman has a right to be considered as an equal, and may demand a divorce. The *second* description of marriage is also a purchase. It consists in a person of inferior rank sacrificing his personal liberty to become the husband of the daughter of a man of superior condition. He is in this case adopted into the family of his

father-in-law, who may dispose of him as he pleases, —even sell him as a slave.

The *third* kind of marriage is the most universal, and supposes, although a pecuniary consideration be still paid, a greater degree of equality between man and wife. This is the kind of marriage which commonly prevails among the Malays, the Javanese, and civilized nations of Celebes.

Marriages may, in general, be dissolved without much difficulty. If the husband sues for the divorce, he forfeits all claim to the *Patukon*, or consideration paid to his wife's relations for her person. If the woman sues for the divorce, she repays the purchase-money, and, by some laws, two-fold. "If a woman," say the laws of Bali, "feel a *dislike* to her husband, she shall be made to restore the original purchase-money, *tukon*, two-fold, and receive a divorce. This is called *Mădal Sangama*. Among the Javanese, divorces are obtained with great facility. They are, in point of law, sufficiently easy everywhere, but the manners of the people are an obstacle to their frequency; and, among the Malays, the people of Bali, Sumbawa, and Celebes, they are rarely heard of. Where the laws appear the most strict, there we shall discover the greatest dissolution of morals in this respect; for the laws of barbarians must be considered as no more than so many occasional expedients for the correction of acknowledged evils. When

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these evils have no existence, laws are not thought of.

The rigour of the marriage-vow, as far as the sex are concerned, is strongly declared in the following law of the ancient Javanese and present Balians:

"If a man go on a sea voyage, his wife shall not marry another for *ten years;* if he go into the country in quest of employment, she shall not marry for *four years;* if he go in quest of religious education, she shall not marry for *six years.* If he absent himself on any other account than these, the wife may, according to the *Manawa Sastra,* take another husband in *four* years; but, according to the *Kuntara Sastra,* in *three.* In any of these cases, the first husband, should he return, cannot claim his wife, *for the gods, Dewata, have parted them.*" This is the only passage, in an ancient manuscript of these people, in which I find distant journeys, or sea voyages, expressly referred to. It must be confessed, however, that it bears some marks of a Hindu origin.

The provision made for the wife, in the event of separation, is, among the converted tribes, with some modifications, usually guided by the precepts of Mahomedan law. In Java, when a man wishes for a divorce, he has but to signify his intention to the priest, who "cuts the marriage cord" before witnesses, which simple ceremony dissolves the marriage. The man, as already mentioned, for-

feits the *patukon*, or purchase-money, the woman has restored to her whatever property she brought to her husband, and the husband whatever he contributed to the joint stock. Their common earnings are then divided, the woman receiving one part, and the husband two. If it appears to the judges that the industry of the wife has chiefly contributed to the accumulation of the joint property, as often happens, they will not scruple to award her a larger share.

A betrothing always, among these people, precedes a marriage, and, being considered nearly as binding as the marriage union itself, a violation of it is punished by law. The following law of the Malays refers to this custom: "If a man *bid* for a woman betrothed to another, knowing her to be so betrothed, and gives her a marriage pledge, the magistrate shall summon the parents, and direct them to restore the pledge, and he shall fine the offending person, if rich, ten *tahils*, and if poor, five *tahils*. If the person bidding for a betrothed woman do it in ignorance, he shall be deemed to have committed no offence, but the parents of the girl, if privy to the transaction, shall be fined at the pleasure of the magistrate."

The ancient laws of the Javanese (*Suryo alăm*) were to a similar effect. "If," say these, "a man betrothes his daughter to one man, and afterwards gives her in marriage to another, he shall be

fined to the amount of twelve thousand *Pichis*, for the benefit of the injured person. If a man receive the troth of a woman, and has paid the *Patukon*, and she refuse to accept of him for her husband, alleging that he is a person of bad character, the man, on reference to the judge, shall be entitled to a fine of twelve thousand *Pichis*, twice told, and the woman be compelled besides to restore the *Patukon*. If a woman be betrothed to one man, and another interrupts the marriage, and takes her to himself, he shall pay to the injured person double the purchase-money, and be fined besides in a sum of eight thousand *Pichis*."

This short sketch of the civil laws of the Indian islanders will serve to convey some idea of their spirit, and I shall now proceed to treat of a more extensive subject,—their *penal code*. This may be satisfactorily done under the five following heads, viz., the character and nature of their punishments, —allotment of punishment, according to the rank of the parties,—offences against property,—offences against persons,—and offences against the state.

The *punishments* of the Indian islanders are rather characterized by their arbitrary violence, than by refinement in cruelty, as among the Hindus and Chinese. They shew, however, a much less regard for human life than the laws of these people, especially of the latter. Death is the punishment of a hundred trifling offences, and is awarded with

a wantonness which shocks the humanity of civilized men. When a criminal is apprehended, the first thing always done is to deprive him of his *kris*. He is then secured by being bound with a rattan, or filament of bamboo cane, which places him "rather in a state of constraint than of pain." "If," says Mr Marsden, "the offender be of a desperate character, they bind him, hands and feet, and sling him on a pole." As the same accurate observer remarks, "pain is never wantonly or unnecessarily inflicted." The punishments vary considerably with the character and habits of the different tribes. Fines and death are by far the most frequent, and corporal punishment the rarest. *Whipping*, as a punishment for minor offences, is directed by the Mahomedan law, but seldom carried into effect. As I have mentioned in another place, among some of the tribes, as the Malays and inhabitants of Celebes, the very meanest of the people are as impatient of a blow as any modern European gentleman. In the Malay code, a blow or an affront is prescribed by law as the punishment of what are considered as offences of much aggravation. I shall quote a few curious examples of this. "The persons," says one law, "who may be put to death without the previous knowledge of the king or nobles, are an adulterer, a person guilty of treason, (*Maharaja lela,*) a thief who cannot otherwise be apprehended, and *a person who offers*

another a grievous affront, such as a blow over the face. If a freeman strike a slave, he shall be fined five *mas.* If a slave strike a freeman, the fine is half his price. If a freeman strike a freeman, and he that is struck stabs the other to death, he is held justified. If a slave give a slave a blow, and the offended person return a mortal stab, the mstaer of the offender shall pay a fine of half the price of the slave that is killed. If a slave give abusive language to a freeman, he shall be punished by a *stroke on the mouth.* If a freeman give abusive language to the wife of a slave, and the slave kill him, he shall be deemed to have committed no crime thereby, *for no woman is to be considered lightly.* If any man strike another a blow, it shall be lawful for such person, for the period of three days, to put the offender to death, but if after this, he shall pay a fine of one *kăti* and five *tahils.*"

The same character is exemplified in the following law: "If a man make an attempt to seduce another man's wife, the chief shall cause the offender to make *an obeisance* to the husband in open court. If he refuse to make such obeisance, he shall pay a fine of ten *tahils,* unless the judge, or some other person of rank, should have compassion upon him, and excuse him."

On the same principle. a kind of pillory is a frequent punishment with the same people. The ob-

ject is, to render the criminal an object of contempt and ridicule. For this purpose, his face is alternately streaked with charcoal and turmeric, an enormous red flower is placed as a burlesque ornament behind his ear, and in this plight he is carried through the town or village mounted on a white buffalo, an animal in disrepute.

The cruel and unjust punishment of *mutilation*, liberally inflicted for the crime of theft, wherever the Mahomedan religion prevails, appears to have been introduced with that religion, and not to be congenial to the manners and customs of the people. *Imprisonment*, as a punishment, does not belong to the manners of the people, and, perhaps, will be found to prevail only where it has been introduced by Europeans. The practice of *outlawing* does not obtain any where, that I am aware of, except among some of the tribes of Sumatra. It is not a legal punishment awarded for any species of offence, but a right exercised by every tribe or family, with respect to its own members, naturally arising out of their legal responsibility for the acts of all those members. The individual thus outlawed (*Risao*) is considered to be without the pale of society, and again reduced to the savage or wild state. "If an outlaw," says the historian of Sumatra, "commits murder, the friends of the deceased may take personal revenge on him, and are not liable to be called to an account for it;

but if such be killed, otherwise than in satisfaction for murder, although his family have no claim, the prince of the country is entitled to a certain compensation, all outlaws being nominally his property, like other wild animals." *

Banishment was a punishment frequently inflicted by the Javanese, and was known to the people of Achin and Bali. These two last deported their criminals to unfrequented islets; the Javanese sent them to forests and unhealthy places, which the superstition of the people led them to consider inhabited by hobgoblins or evil genii.

The punishment of *death*, as already stated, is too wantonly inflicted. The modes in which execution is effected illustrate the character of the people. Strangulation, by suspending the body from the neck, as among us, or decapitation, as so frequent with the greater nations of Asia, are never practised. State criminals are sometimes privately executed, as in Turkey, by the bowstring. This is literally denominated stringing, (*taleni.*) The most familiar mode of violent death among them is stabbing with the *kris*, and this they transfer to their legal executions. In Java, and it is a circumstance full of meaning, the office of public-executioner is not one of infamy or discredit, but rather of distinction. There are, by custom, two of

* History of Sumatra, p. 246.

them, each having his band of the ministers of punishment and death. The chiefs execute criminals of rank, and the inferior agents meaner culprits. They are titled persons taking the rank of inferior nobles. One has the title of *Singha Nă-gara*, the lion of the country, the other, by a vile irony, *Mărta-lulut*, or the merciful and affectionate.

Stabbing with the *kris* is an uncertain mode of inflicting death, and conveys, at least to the European mind, the impression of savage ferocity. The prisoner is secured to a post, and the executioner plunges the weapon into his heart. The expedition with which death follows depends, of course, on the dexterity of this officer. Sometimes death is almost instantaneous, but when the blow fails to reach the immediate sources of life, the prisoner will linger for hours. I remember that the respectable chief of Samarang informed me that he presided, a few years ago, at the execution of a state-prisoner, the circumstances attending which were dreadful and affecting. The Javanese chief, *Ingabai Tirto Wijoyo*, of the district of *Tirsono*, was, during the administration of Marshal Daendels, and in a period of some alarm, accused of uttering seditious expressions. That arbitrary and ferocious governor ordered him to be forthwith executed, on the bare report, without form of trial or even examination. The prisoner met his fate with singular fortitude, although the execution was attend-

ed by circumstances of the most tragical nature; for the executioner, unused to his office, and in a state of agitation, inflicted an erring blow, under which the unhappy sufferer lingered for four-and-twenty hours.

In cases of enormous crimes the criminal, in Java, as mentioned in another place, was condemned to be devoured by tigers, while his fate was aggravated by the abominable mockery of being made to fight beforehand, for the amusement of a tyrant and his court, with his savage executioner. The Malay laws, in some extreme cases, direct execution by impalement, *Suluk*, but this abominable cruelty, which the Dutch had the imprudence to borrow from them, is not in general consonant to the genius of their character. Among the more lawless and turbulent governments, as before noticed, the forfeiture of personal liberty is a frequent punishment of offences, the crime of an individual being often attended by the slavery of his whole family. The increase of this mode of punishment, it is to be apprehended, followed the encouragement given to the slave-trade by the European governments.

Almost all punishments may be commuted for fine or mulct, and these constitute themselves directly the most frequent of all punishments. The substitution of pecuniary fines, as compensation, marks the progress of society as in other situations.

The *lex talionis* more or less obtains among the different tribes as they are more or less civilized. The more ferocious tribes insist, in many situations, upon a literal compliance with the law of retaliation; other tribes constantly accept a pecuniary compensation. Among the Javanese, a civilized tribe, we seldom hear of the law of retaliation. Such, among them, was the power of a despotic government, and the tameness of the people, that the strict law could be carried into execution, and compensation for murder is scarcely heard of. By the laws of the Sumatrans there was hardly a crime that might not be expiated by a pecuniary compensation. The following extract from the laws of the Rejangs is a curious example of the length to which this principle has been pushed:

"For a wound occasioning the loss of an eye or limb, or imminent danger of death, half the *bangun* is to be paid.

"For a wound on the head, the *pampas*, or compensation, is twenty dollars.

"For other wounds, the *pampas* from twenty dollars downwards.

"If a person is carried off and sold beyond the hills, the offender, if convicted, must pay the *bangun*. If the person has been recovered previous to the trial, the offender pays half the *bangun*.

"If a man kills his brother, he pays to the *proaltins* the *tippong bumi*, (purification money.)

"If a wife kills her husband, she must suffer death.

"If a wife by *semando* wounds her husband, her relations must pay what they would receive if he wounded her."

One of the most remarkable and instructive characteristics in the laws of the islanders, is the allotment of punishment according to the rank of the offender. The three great classes of society which may be said generally to exist throughout the Indian islands, in a legal point of view, are the *nobles*, freemen, (*Mărdika*,) and slaves, (*Hămba*.) In their laws the rights of these classes are constantly referred to. The authority of rank, it need hardly be insisted, is constantly dwelt upon, and its immunity from the severities of the law impudently proclaimed. "The *Bangun*, or compensation for the murder of a *Pambarah*," (superior chief,) say the laws of the Rejangs, "is five hundred dollars; for that of a *Proattin*, (inferior chief,) two hundred and fifty dollars; for that of a common person, man or boy, eighty dollars; for that of a common person, woman or girl, one hundred and fifty dollars; for the legitimate child or wife of a *Pambarah*, two hundred and fifty dollars." A law of the Balinese is to the following effect: "If a man lay violent hands on the wife of another, let the custom of former princes be followed, and let such

a one be moderately fined as the price of his life. If the woman be a person of high rank, the mulct is two *laksas*, or 20,000 *pichis*; if of middling rank, one *laksa*, and these fines go to the king; but, if the woman be of *mean* condition, the mulct shall be only five *talis*, and it goes not to the prince, but the injured husband. The Malay laws are to the same effect. "If," says the code of Malacca, "the commander of a vessel kidnap the slave of the *Băndahara*, or other great man, he shall be compelled to restore the slave, and pay a fine of ten *tahils*; if he kidnap the slave of any inferior person, he shall only restore the slave, and pay a fine equivalent to his price."—"If a husband should kill the man that offers a price for the virtue of his wife, he shall pay a fine of one *tahil*, for a mere attempt to seduce is not an offence deserving death, *except* in the case of a person of rank."

Distinction in the allotment of punishment is solely founded upon civil rank, and nothing exists, or seems, indeed, at any time to have existed, even where the Hindu religion prevails, like the allotment of punishment according to the intolerable and odious distinction of the castes, unless we except a few inconsiderable immunities to the Brahmins.

Some faint attempts at apportioning the punishment to the means of the offender may now and then be discerned. The Malay code of Malacca says,

"If a freeman strike a slave, his fine, if rich, shall be ten *mas*, and if poor, five *mas*."—"If a freeman mutilate a slave, he shall be fined half the price of the slave, and, if poor, ten *mas*." The Javanese law tract called *Suryo Alăm* states, that, "If a person of high rank screen a delinquent, he shall be fined one hundred thousand *pichis*. If a person of middling rank be guilty of the same offence, he shall be fined eighty thousand; and, if a person of mean condition, forty thousand."

In rendering an account of the *Penal Laws* of the Indian islanders, I shall consider the subject very briefly under the heads of—Offences against Property,—against Person,—against the State or Sovereign,—and against Nature.

Of offences against *property*, I shall only consider theft and robbery naturally the most frequent of all crimes among people where the protection afforded by law or government is so inadequate. The usual copiousness of the Javanese language is exercised upon a subject so familiar, and all the modifications of unlawful appropriation of property are distinguished by specific terms. The following list of the names given to delinquents will serve as examples: The *Nayab* steals by day, and comes insidiously, and by artifice, on the object of his depredation. The *Blurut* snatches the object he steals, and, running off, trusts to his speed for his escape. The *Begal* is a gang-robber, whose

depredations are committed in the day-time. The *Maling* and *Pandung* steal at night, by breaking open houses, or more frequently by entering them by a mine. The *Kechu* and *Kampak* are gang-robbers who attack in the night-time. In awarding the punishment of theft, the native laws consider the hour in which the theft is committed,—the place from which the property is stolen,—the person who steals it,—and the person from whom it is stolen. The usual punishments are mutilation, that is, the loss of the offending member, pillory, fine, and death. If a thief be caught in the act it is lawful to put him to death, and any body whatever found at night within an inclosure is to be considered a thief, and dealt with accordingly. "If," says an ancient law of the Javanese, "any person enter a village at an improper hour, and is thrice challenged without making any reply, he shall be considered a thief. A person skulking behind a door or fence, and refusing to answer, shall also be considered as a thief."

The different conditions which either aggravate or mitigate the crime of theft are considered in the following laws of the Malay code: "If a thief enter an *inclosure*, and the owner kill him on the spot, or, pursuing him, kill him between two villages, he is, in either case, guilty of no offence; but if he meet him on the following day, it shall not then be lawful for him to put him

to death of himself, but he shall give him over to justice."—"If a *gang* of thieves attack a house, and one person only ascends, this person alone shall suffer mutilation: the rest shall be punished by personal infliction in the following manner: The criminal shall be mounted on a white buffalo; he shall have the *Raya* flower as an ear ornament, *(Sunting,)* a dish cover, *(Tudung saji,)* as an umbrella; his face shall be streaked with charcoal and turmeric, and, in this plight, he shall be led through the town. If the delinquent be a slave, the master shall be compelled to restore the property stolen, or its equivalent, and if he be a freeman, he shall become the slave of the owner of the property."—"If a person steal garden produce, such as sugar-cane, arrowroot, or fruits of any sort, he shall suffer mutilation. If the theft be at night, the owner of the garden may, without incurring any penalty, put him to death."—"If a person steal an ox or buffalo from a pen, he shall be made to restore the property taken, and to pay a fine of one *tahil* and one *paha*."—"If a person steal a goat from a house, he shall pay a fine of ten *mas*, and restore the property."—"If a man steal ducks or fowls, he shall be made to restore them, and pay a fine of five *mas*."—"By the law of God," (the Mahomedan law,) says the same collection, "if a man steal a buffalo, a cow, or a goat, from an inclosure, he shall either suffer death or mutilation, but

if he do not steal them from an inclosure, he shall only be made to restore them." This last rule, which follows the others, is stated in deference to the Mahomedan law, but evidently as if it were not of practical application to the state of society, and a violence offered to the known usages of the country.

The following two laws of the ancient code of Java, and present one of Bali, are in the same spirit: "Those who steal hogs, dogs, fowls, or other animals, be they what they may, that are kept by the husbandman, shall pay a fine of five *talis* to go to the judge, and they shall be made to restore the property taken twice-told."—"If, however, the theft be committed at night, the criminal shall be put to death by the prince who desires the prosperity of his kingdom."—"If a man cut down trees belonging to another, *without his consent*, he shall be fined four *talis*, and be made to restore the property taken two-fold. If the offence be committed at night, the criminal shall be sentenced to death."

There is great uniformity in the fine imposed for theft among the different tribes, which is almost always *double* the value of the property taken, with a *consideration* for the judge. The laws of the Rejangs are as follow: "A person convicted of theft pays *double* the value of the goods stolen, with a fine of twenty dollars and a buffalo, if they exceed the

value of five dollars; if under the value of five dollars the fine is five dollars and a goat; the value of the goods still doubled."—"All thefts under five dollars, and all disputes for property, or offences to that amount, may be compromised by the *Proattins*, whose dependents are concerned." By the laws of the people of *Pasummah*, also, "a person convicted of stealing money, wearing-apparel, household effects, arms, or the like, shall pay the owner *double* the value of the goods stolen, and be fined twenty-eight dollars. A person convicted of stealing slaves shall pay to the owner at the rate of eighty dollars per head, which is estimated to be *double* the value, and fined twenty-eight dollars. A person convicted of stealing *Betel*, fowls, or coconuts, shall pay the owner *double* the value, and be fined seven dollars; half of which fine is to be received by the owner."

The laws of the Indian islanders, as they respect *accomplices*, or suspected persons, are arbitrary, violent, and frequently absurd. "If," says the *Kuntara*, or code of the Balinese, "a person be found guilty of harbouring a robber, it shall, in the first instance, be lawful to put the robber to death, and the person who sheltered him, the prince, who is anxious for the prosperity of his country, shall order, with his property and children, to be confiscated." The Javanese law tract, called *Suryo alam*, has the following extraordinary enactments on this sub-

ject: "Should a person lose property of any kind, without knowing how, and in searching for his goods, any one should say, without being questioned, 'I did not steal them,' such person shall be obliged to restore the value of the missing goods. If several people be assembled together, and one of them happen to lose something, whoever is the first to quit the party shall be considered the thief, and be compelled to make restitution *two-fold.*"—"If a thief, who is pursued, runs into a man's premises by a gap in the paling, the proprietor shall be held responsible for one-third of the amount stolen."—"Any person in whose possession the implements of a thief's calling are found, shall be considered guilty of any robbery committed at the time."

Offences against persons may be considered under the heads of abusive language, assault, injuries offered to the *sex*, and murder. In the sketch which I have given of the character of the people in a preceding part of this work, I have expressly stated, that they were not addicted to the use of gross or abusive language. The use of such language is, indeed, so apt to be punished by instant recourse to the dagger, that the law has little occasion to interfere for its correction. Among some of the tribes, abusive language cannot with impunity be used even to a slave. Blows are still more intolerable, and considered such grievous affronts, that, by law, the person who receives them is considered

justified in putting the offender to death. Examples of laws dictated in this spirit have been already quoted.

The quarrels of a people brave, always armed, and punctiliously regardful of the point of honour, more frequently end in wounds and death than in personal abuse and blows. In the imperfect state of law and government which exists, a large share of the right of avenging wrongs is left in the hands of private persons. The law even expressly interdicts all interference when there appears a character of *fairness* in the quarrel. In illustration of this curious principle, I shall quote a few passages. "If," say the laws of Bali, "two persons bearing each other an equal dislike, being equally fierce, equally brave, and armed with equal weapons, fight, and inflicting mutual wounds, one of them is killed, the survivor shall not be punished by the magistrate. If a third party interfere, and, attempting to part the combatants, is killed or wounded, the magistrate shall take no notice of the affair."

The laws of the Malays are still more full on the subject. "If," says the Malacca code, "two persons fight, and *exchange stabs*, and a third person interfere with *kris*, cleaver, or cudgel, should such a one be stabbed, cut, bruised, or killed, nothing shall be said on the subject." In a few situations, considered by the law as extreme cases,

however, it is allowable to interfere. These are stated in the following law: "It is lawful to assist one putting to death an adulterer, for in this case meddling has been long tolerated. It is lawful to assist a friend acting justly, or suffering injustice, when unable to make his complaint to the king, or to a *great one*,—and it is lawful to assist a youth unable to represent his grievance, or to contend with his adversary. In these cases, but in no others, is it allowable to meddle in a quarrel, and the person who meddles under any other pretext shall be fined according to the extent of his interference, from five *tahils* and one *paha*, to one *tahil* and one *paha*."

Not only is a large share of the power of avenging injuries left in private hands, but the principle is pushed further, and this power seems even to have been allowed to be delegated to champions hired for the occasion. It is impossible to read, without disgust, the following laws in which this principle appears to be fully recognized. They are from the code of Malacca. "If a man hire a person, without the knowledge of the magistrate, to give another a slap over the face, he shall pay a fine of five *tahils*. If a man be hired to beat another, and the person who is beaten die of the blows given, the employer of such person, if the deceased be a slave, shall pay his whole price, or if a freeman, ten *tahils*."—"If a man hire a person to kill

another, *with the knowledge of the magistrate*, and the person so hired be killed in the attempt, the person employing him shall give the proffered reward to the family of the deceased, and be at the expence of the funeral charges."

In exacting retribution for assault, the law of retaliation is not pushed to the same extremity among the Indian islanders as among the Arabs and Hindus. Life is required for life, but we do not hear of the refinement of limb for limb, eye for eye, or tooth for tooth. Like those nations, however, we discover that punishment is allotted, not according to the degree of malice, but to the accidental circumstances of the nature and situation of the wound. "If," say the laws of Bali, on this subject, "a wound be inflicted with a *kris*, a spear, an arrow from a blow-pipe, *Tulup*, or other sharp-pointed weapon, and a tooth, a hand, or a leg, be injured to a *moderate degree*, the offender shall pay a fine of ten thousand *pichis*. If the wound be on the neck, or the head, and *considerable*, the fine shall be two hundred thousand. These fines go to the magistrate." The following law, from the Javanese tract called *Suryo-alăm*, is characteristic, and more reasonable: "If a man receive from another a wound, by which he is maimed or blemished, the fine shall be equal to that for taking his life." The laws of the Rejangs on this head are to the same effect as those now mentioned. The follow-

ing are examples: "For a wound occasioning the loss of an eye, or limb, or imminent danger of death, half the *Bangun* (compensation for murder) is to be paid. For a wound on the head, the compensation is twenty dollars. For other wounds, twenty dollars and downwards."—"In wounds," says the collection of the laws of *Pasummah*, "a distinction is made in the parts of the body. A wound in any part from the hip upwards, is esteemed more considerable than in the lower parts. If a person wounds another with sword, *kris kujur*, or other weapon, and the wound is considerable, so as to maim him, he shall pay to the person wounded the half compensation of murder, and to the chiefs half the fine for murder, with half of the *bassa lurah*. If the wound is trifling, but fetches blood, he shall pay the person wounded the *Tepung* of fourteen dollars, and be fined as much more. If a person wounds another with a stick or bamboo, &c. he shall simply pay the *Tepung* of fourteen dollars."

In cases of murder, no distinction is made between wilful murder and chance-medley. It is the loss which the tribe or family sustains that is considered, and the pecuniary compensation is calculated to make up that loss. The term used by the *Rejangs* of Sumatra *Bangun*, or "awaking," expresses the meaning they attach to it. By the same people, another charge is made against the

murderer, which has its origin in superstition. This is called the *Tepung-bumi*, or purification of the earth from the stain it has received. Among other tribes, besides the compensation, the murderer pays the funeral charges. It is remarkable that there is not, in any language of the Indian islands, words equivalent to ours *to murder*, or *murderer;* no terms which express the horror which we attach to these. In these tongues, to murder is simply "to kill," and a murderer is no more than "one that kills." Human life can be of little value among a people whose language is incapable of making this great moral distinction. It is among the military and high-spirited nations of Celebes that the law of retaliation is urged to the greatest length. Still, even there, every member of the society has his price determined, from the chief to the slave; and when, after the necessary forms, this price is paid, the parties rest satisfied. Within the society, the injury is considered to be done to the family of the deceased; but if the murder have been committed by a stranger, the quarrel is then no longer a private but a public one, and the tribe of the murderer is answerable, the death of any member of which, generally, will be considered to satisfy the principle of retributive justice, according to their wild notions of it. In the year 1812, a subject of the Bugis king of Boni, an inhabitant of the Bugis quarter of

the town of Macassar, committed a robbery upon a stranger merchant, residing under our protection, in the same town. The property taken was traced and recovered. The Bugis, some time thereafter, entered the shop of the merchant, and made what must appear to our ideas a very odd demand, remuneration for the *trouble* he had had in committing the theft, as he had been, by the restitution, deprived of the benefits of it. The merchant seized a spear which was close at hand, and pursued the Bugis, who, having no arms fit to contend with him, ran off. The merchant pursued him; and, setting up the usual cry of "a muck," the Bugis was, as is common in such cases, beset and killed. The Bugis quarter was immediately in an uproar, and life for life was demanded. The European authority began deliberately to investigate the matter, but in a manner too slow for the vindictive temperament of those who thought themselves aggrieved. For a moment all appeared quietness, in the midst of which a lad not above thirteen or fourteen from the Bugis quarter entered that of the Macassars, or native subjects of the European authority, and deliberately stabbed to death the first individual he met with. As soon as this retribution was executed, both sides remained as contented as if ample and complete justice had been administered, and no more was heard from them of the transaction.

Among the same inhabitants of Celebes, the

compensation for murder must be quickly adjusted, or the friends of the deceased will be held justified in taking revenge with their own hands. The house of the chief of the village, or the place of worship, are considered places of refuge, and here the murderer must seek an asylum until he has paid the forfeit of his life. In illustration of the laws now referred to, I shall quote, from those of the different tribes, a few of the most striking: "If," say the laws of the Macassars, "a free man kill his equal, and take refuge with the chief or priest of his village, the murder shall be compensated by the following fines—for the murder of a man twenty dollars; for the murder of a woman thirty dollars."—"If a *chief* kill a free person, retribution shall not be demanded; but he shall, notwithstanding, pay the price of blood, which, for a man, is twenty dollars, and for a woman thirty, and a mulct besides, of the same amount."—"When a person commits murder, he shall forthwith surrender himself to the chief of his village, and pay the usual compensation. If he neglect so to do, he may be killed by the friends of the deceased wherever taken." The laws of the Rejangs are as follow: "If a man kills his slave, he pays half his price, as *Bangun* to the *Pange ran*, and the *Tepung-bumi* to the *Proattins*." —"If a man kills his wife by *jujur* marriage, he pays her *Bangun* to her family, or to the *Proattins*,

according as the marriage-knot is entire or otherwise."—"If a man kills or wounds his wife by *Semando* marriage, he pays the same as for a stranger."—"If a man kills his brother, he pays to the *Proattins* the *Tepung-bumi.*"

The strange practice of running a muck has been already explained in rendering an account of the manners of the people. A custom so dangerous and so frequent is of course often referred to in the native laws. The person who runs a muck may lawfully be killed by the first that meets him. In Celebes, especially, where, perhaps, mucks are, from the licentious sense of honour, entertained by all ranks, more frequent than any where else, it is dangerous to be seen running in the streets of a town or village, for, among the Indian islanders, none are ever seen to *run* unless those who run a muck, murderers, thieves, and robbers.* "If," says the Malacca code, "a slave or debtor run a muck,

* "They are always in a sitting posture, either in their boats or houses; neither do they stir without it be out of absolute necessity. They used to laugh at us for walking about in their houses, telling us that it looked as if we were mad, or knew not what we did. If, say they, you have any business at the other end of the room, why do you not stay there; if not, why do you go thither; why always stalking backwards and forwards?"—*A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo*, by Captain Daniel Beeckman, page 41.

they shall be immediately put to death. If, however, they happen to be seized alive, and then put to death, the person so putting them to death incurs a fine of one *tahil* and one *paha*. If the slave or debtor be mortally wounded when taken, and then put to death, the person so putting him to death shall only pay the funeral charges." The naval code of the Malays is peculiarly strict on the subject of mucks, as we see from the following specimens: "If a man quarrel with another in the fore part of the vessel, and, drawing his *kris*, come aft as far as the place where the sails are kept, towards the person he has quarrelled with, it shall be lawful to put him to death: But, if he can be apprehended, he shall be fined instead."—"If a man quarrel with another, and follow him to the door of the commander's cabin, even though he may not have drawn his *kris*, it shall be lawful to put him to death; but, if he can be apprehended, he may be fined instead."—"If the officer of a vessel quarrel with the commander, and approach him in the after part of the vessel, he may be put to death; but, if he ask forgiveness, it may be granted, on his paying a pecuniary fine, and furnishing a buffalo for the commander's *entertainment!*"

Injuries offered to the *sex* are next to be considered. These are of two kinds:—those offered to unmarried women, and those offered to married

ones. The first are considered rather as venial offences, but the last as the most flagrant of crimes.

A man is allowed to run away with a woman; and, upon making the usual payments, he is exonerated from any culpability by doing so, and the marriage is valid. If a man violate a female slave, he pays a fine; and if he violate a debtor, he must either marry her or forfeit the debt. I shall quote a few of the many laws on this subject. The Malacca code says, "If a man repeatedly ask for a young woman in marriage, and the parents are displeased thereat, and refuse their assent, but he secretly deflower the virgin, he shall be fined one *tahil* and one *paha*, for a man's daughter is not to be treated lightly. Even if of no rank, still she shall not be treated lightly."

"If a man," says the same collection, "borrow a female slave, and have connection with her, he shall, if she have been a virgin, pay to her master a fine of *ten mas*, one piece of cloth, and one vest; but, if a widow, only five mas and no cloth or vest. This is the law of the town, of the country, and of the river."

By the laws of the Rejangs, it is declared that "If a man carries off a woman under pretence of marriage, he must lodge her immediately with some respectable family. If he carries her elsewhere for a single night, he incurs a fine of fifty dollars, payable to her parents or relations."—"If,"

continue the same laws, " a man carries off a woman with her own consent, and is willing either to pay her price at once by *jujur*, or marry her by *semando*, as the father or relations please, they cannot reclaim the woman, and the marriage takes place."

" If a man carries off a virgin against her inclination, he incurs a fine of twenty dollars and a buffalo; if a widow, ten dollars and a goat, and the marriage does not take place. If he commit a rape, and the parents do not chuse to give her to him in marriage, he incurs a fine of fifty dollars." In all this, it will be seen that there is hardly any thing considered but the value of the girl's person to her relations, as a mere vendible commodity.

Among all the tribes, adultery is considered as among the most heinous offences, except among the Javanese, whose manners, in this particular, more resemble those of the nations between Hindustan and China. The ancient Javanese, however, to judge from their laws, appear to have been not less punctilious than their neighbours. The crime of adultery is viewed, we may remark, at once as an injury to a man's honour and to his property. The husband may put the adulterer and adulteress to death on the spot, without incurring any penalty. The little confidence which the islanders repose in the sex is evinced in those laws, which punish freedoms, apparently the most innocent, taken with them; nay the

mere circumstance of being seen accidentally in a doubtful situation with a woman, is construed into an offence for which the husband must receive satisfaction. Among all the tribes, adultery is the most frequent subject of legislative enactment. I shall here quote a few of the laws on the subject: "If," says the code of Malacca, "a husband kill the man that *bids* for the virtue of his wife, he shall pay a fine of one *tahil* and one *paha;* for a mere attempt to seduce is not a crime deserving death, *except* in the case of a man of rank." The laws of the Balinese decide that "If a man be an eye-witness to another's offering his wife any violence, it shall be lawful for him to kill him on the spot;" and farther, "If a husband discover his wife in the embraces of another, it shall be lawful for him to put both to death at once." The same laws declare that "If a man enter into conversation with another's wife, though only on the subject of a debt, he shall be fined one hundred thousand *pichis;* for it is forbidden to converse with a man's wife alone; it is particularly interdicted. It is even forbidden to a *Pandita*, (a priest,) who would, by doing so, injure his sacred character; for words are of powerful effect; and the wickedness of the human heart difficultly repressed. This is the saying of *Sang Yiwang Agama*," (the deity of the faith or book.) The enactments on this subject in the Javanese tract called *Suryo Alăm* are so extrava-

gantly punctilious as to wear an air of some ridicule. "If," says this performance, "a man speak much to a woman on the highway, or at the resting places on a journey, and her husband express dissatisfaction thereat, the offender shall pay a fine of seven pieces of money."

"If a man pick up on the highway, or in any other place, a flower belonging to a woman, and her husband expresses dissatisfaction, the person who is in possession of the flower shall pay a fine of six pieces of money."

"If a woman who may have retired to a thicket is seen coming out of it at the same time with a man whom necessity may have taken to the same situation, and the husband of such woman express dissatisfaction, the man shall be fined four pieces of money."

"If a man, lodging in the house of another, give the wife of his host his clothes to wash, and borrow, in the meantime, others from her, should the husband be displeased thereat, the man shall be fined four pieces of money."

"If a man tear a woman's clothes, or lets down her petticoat, he shall be fined two thousand four hundred *pichis*."

"If a man lay violent hands on another man's wife, with intention of violating her, he shall be made to pay damages to her to the amount of three

thousand *pichis*, and to the magistrate four thousand."

"If a man seize upon a woman, and she cry out, on which he lays hold of her by the hair of the head, and she then stabs him to death with a *kris*, her life shall not be endangered by so doing, but she shall pay, as the price of blood, to the relations of the deceased, eight thousand *pichis*, with a mulct of four thousand eight hundred besides to the magistrate."

The laws of the Rejangs are nearly to the same effect, and as follow: "If a person lies with a man's wife by force he is deserving of death; but may redeem his head by payment of the *Bangun*, eighty dollars to be divided between the husband and *Proattins*."—"If a man surprises his wife in the act of adultery, he may put both man and wife to death upon the spot without being liable to any *Bangun*. If he kills the man and spares his wife, he must redeem her life by payment of fifty dollars to the *Proattins*."

The next branch of the penal laws to be considered are *offences against the state* or sovereign. Offences against the state consist of exercise of undue authority,—giving false information,—forging the royal signet, or those of the officers of state,—and rebellion. The despotic character of the sovereign authority has been already explained in another chapter of this book. The prerogatives

of royalty will tolerate no encroachment. Wearing forbidden arms or garments, or using, or causing to be used, the language of adulation appropriated to the sovereign, are *always* crimes of the greatest magnitude, and *often* capital ones. "The Raja's court," says the *Suryo Alăm*, "is like the sun, whose refulgent rays spread in all directions, and penetrate through every thing,—the displeasure of the Raja, in his court, is like the heat of the sun, which causes those who are exposed to it to faint away." * Exercise of undue authority is punished rather as a disrespect to the king's person than as an offence offered to the regular administration of justice. We have this exemplified in the following law of the Malays: "If a person put a malefactor to death without the knowledge of the king it shall be deemed contumacy, for he has not the fear of the king before his eyes, and his punishment shall be a fine of ten *tahils* and one *paha*."

The offence of giving false intelligence, according to the acceptation of the Indian islanders, is not a great political offence, as we might imagine, but a sort of personal indignity offered to the prince himself directly, or indirectly to him in the person of one of his officers. "If a man," say the laws of Bali, "shall say to a person of rank, there is in

* Raffles, Vol. II. Appendix.

such and such a place valuables, as cattle, fruit, gold, silver, gems, or handsome women, and it turn out that the information is uncertain or false, such person shall be fined in a sum of ten thousand *pichis.*"

The law, however, appears occasionally to have been directed against alarmists, of which we have an example in the following one from the tract so often quoted, *Suryo Alăm:* "If a person is found guilty of circulating false reports, or of magnifying any piece of intelligence, so as to create a great alarm in the country, and put all the people in a ferment, he shall be fined four hundred and four thousand *pichis.*"

Forging the royal signet, or using the royal name for illegal ends, called, in the idiom of the Malay language, *selling the king's word,* are capital offences. Using the name of any of his officers with improper views is also a high offence. The punishment for this last is described in the following law of the Malays: "If a person use the name of a *great* man with improper views, he shall either be fined one *tahil* and one *paha,* or receive *a kick* before the people. If he resist he shall be put to death, for great men sustain the business of the king."

Treason and rebellion are, of course, the greatest of crimes under a despotic government. They are construed to be not only temporal offences, but even sacrilege. But there are no laws which describe

the punishment of treason. It is a crime which the laws do not even contemplate. Sedition, treason, and rebellion, are one thing. There are no shades of distinction. When a man forgets his allegiance there is no middle course to pursue; he is at once a rebel, and, like a wild beast, hunted down as a common enemy. When taken, he is unceremoniously put to death, for the semblance of judicial trial, unsuitable to the spirit of their political institutions, is, of course, out of the question. Insurrection, the only mode of obtaining a redress of grievances in the East, has been always very frequent among the more considerable and richer tribes of the Archipelago, as the Achinese, Javanese, &c. those who had any thing to plunder, and any thing worth struggling for. In Java, when an insurgent (*Kraman*) is taken, his punishment, by immemorial usage, is to be *tortured to death by the people*, on a principle of retaliation, considering him as the common enemy of the tribe, in the manner in which prisoners of war are tortured by the savages of North America. For this purpose, the criminal is exposed in the great square in front of the palace, and slowly tortured to death by the mob. In the reign of *Susunan Pakubuwono*, a rebel, called *Mas Dono*, suffered this cruel death, or, as the native writer expresses it, was "punctured to death with needles for the amusement of the people!" During the reign of the last

Susunan, another pretender was executed at Solo, nearly in the same manner, having been *pinched* to death by the populace!

Of *offences against the laws of nature* the laws of the Indian islanders provide for none but the imaginary one of *sorcery* or witchcraft.

One of the great advantages which the natives of the Indian islands have derived from their conversion to the Mahomedan religion, is a freedom from the terrors of this supposed offence. Though far from disbelieving in magic, we do not find the minds of the converted natives haunted by the terrors of the diabolical superstition entertained by their ancestors, and by the tribes which still adhere to Hinduism. Sorcery, among the latter, is considered one of the most atrocious crimes. "If," say the laws of the Balinese, "a man falsely accuse another of sorcery, and speak publicly thereof, the magistrate shall fine him forty thousand." The following odious and sanguinary law of the same people describes what they mean by incantation or sorcery, and directs what is to be the punishment: "If a person write the name of another on the winding-sheet of a corpse, or on a dead man's bier, or makes images of another of paste, or writing the name of a man on a slip of paper, suspends it on a tree, buries it in the earth, deposits it in haunted ground, or where two roads cross each other, any of these shall be deemed sor-

cery. If a man write the name of another on a human bone with blood and charcoal, this also shall be deemed an incantation. Whoever is guilty of any of these practices shall the judge order to be put to death. If the matter be very clearly made out, let the punishment of death be extended to his father and his mother, to his children and to his grandchildren; let none of them live; let none connected with one so guilty remain on the face of the land, and let their goods be in like manner confiscated. Should the children or parents of the sorcerer live in a remote part of the country, still let them be sought out and put to death, and let their goods, if concealed, be brought forth and confiscated." According to the *Suryo Alăm*, the offence of witchcraft is much less severely judged, but still considered a very serious crime. "There is," says this tract, "one thing which ought not to be tolerated in a country, namely, sorcery; particularly if practised in difficult times. The fine for this offence is forty thousand, and if any thing be missing, it shall be laid to the charge of the person practising the art. Should the governor of the province be the person, he shall be dismissed from his office, and his officers and relations shall be considered as implicated in his crime. Should a person of the rank of *Mantri* be found guilty of practising incantations, his fine shall be one hundred thousand."

For the abominable and unnatural vice said to be so frequent among the Persians, the Hindus, and especially the Chinese, calling themselves the most refined nations of Asia, the Indian islanders have not even a name. Their manners, in this particular, are perfectly pure and uncontaminated. Of course, there are no laws against crimes which have no existence.

Marriages between near relations are prohibited by the laws of the Indian islanders. When they do happen, the parties are fined if within the third degree of consanguinity collaterally, and in the ascending and descending line they are indefinitely forbidden. A brother, however, marries the widow of a brother, as among the Hindus; and a man, on the demise of his wife, may espouse her sister; but, among the Javanese at least, such unions are not deemed respectable. These are the only marriages which seem, to our prejudices, to infringe upon the law of nature.

BOOK IX.

COMMERCE.

CHAPTER I.

DOMESTIC AND INTERNAL COMMERCE OF THE ARCHIPELAGO.

Character of the mercantile profession among the Indian islanders.—Rate of profits, and interest of money.—Foreign resident merchants.—Modes of commercial intercourse.—International trade.—Nations conducting the carrying trade.—Voyages of the Waju *merchants.—Principles on which foreign trade is conducted by the natives.*

I SHALL treat of the commerce of the Archipelago in six short chapters, under the respective heads of Domestic and Internal Commerce,—Commerce with Asiatic Nations,—Direct Commerce with European Nations,—Commerce with the Asiatic Colonies of European Nations,—Description of the principal Articles of Export,—and Description of the principal Imports. The deep interest and import-

Drawn by Lt Col. Taylor

Engraved by W. H. Lizars

A CHINESE JUNK,

with native Vessels &c.

ance of this subject will make it unnecessary to apologize for the length of the details into which it is my intention to enter.

The value and extent of the commerce which distant nations are capable of carrying on with each other, is in the direct proportion of their wealth and civilization. The tribes whose history I am writing have, however, from early times, on account of their favourable situation, their easy approach, the richness of some of their productions, and the singularity of others conducted with the great civilized nations of the globe, a commerce far greater than this usual standard would, at first view, lead us to expect. History affords ample proof of this fact. Ignorant of geography and navigation, the half civilized nations of Asia, notwithstanding, made their way to the Indian islands, the commodities of which were spread over Asia, and through a hundred hordes of barbarians, finally reached the civilized nations of Europe long before the latter knew even the name or situation of the countries which produced them. In later times, the productions of the Indian islands constituted the most important articles of that oriental commerce which lighted the embers of civilization in Italy in the middle ages, and, finally, it was the search for them that led to the discoveries of Gama and

Columbus, the two grandest events in the history of our species.

All the great tribes of the Archipelago are in that state of advancement in social improvement in which the mercantile profession is a distinct employment. It is even one which, from the peculiarity of their maritime situation, is honoured beyond the rank which usually belongs to it, in so humble a state of social existence. To engage in commerce is reckoned no dishonour to any one, but the contrary, and it is, indeed, among the maritime tribes especially, one of the most dignified occupations even of the sovereign himself, and of his principal officers. The higher class of dealers, in point of moral character, are remarkable for their fairness, spirit, and integrity. In the management of their concerns, though they are not systematically skilful, they display, from habit and familiarity with their business, much discernment and acuteness. The use of money is understood by all the considerable tribes. The metals are used by the civilized ones, and the ruder have recourse, as in the earlier stages of society elsewhere, to the staple and current commodities of their respective countries, as I have mentioned in another part of this work. Bills of exchange, such as exist among the Hindus, and which imply much commercial intercourse, and considerable confidence, have never existed among the scattered and hostile tribes of the Indian islands.

As in rude and unsettled states of society everywhere, mercantile profits are exorbitant, and the rate of interest high in proportion to this profit, and to the risk of lending. No attempt, that I am aware of, has ever been made to determine, by law, the rate of interest. In the rude period of society which preceded the modern intercourse with strangers, commerce had not assumed, among the Indian islanders, that regular and systematic character which would lead to such a measure, and it is probable that the interdiction of interest, from religious motives, has since hindered it from being openly declared. Among the natives themselves, trading on large capitals is a thing unknown. Every merchant is a petty retailer, or shopkeeper. The natural rate of interest may be ascertained from a view of the character of the transactions of such dealers. The Chinese of Java will occasionally lend, on good security, at twelve per cent., but double this amount is more frequent. The rate in this case, however, is greatly reduced from the confidence and security which *any* form of European government, however imperfect, naturally confers. Under the native governments, it is probable that not less than fifty per cent. is paid by the borrower in one form or another for a loan.

The women, especially in Java, are almost the sole merchants and brokers, the men hardly ever interfering, at least in matters of retail. The

higher departments of mercantile adventure are almost solely in the hands of strangers, encouraged for ages to settle in the country by the supineness of the natives, and the natural wealth of the land. These foreigners, whose character I have already drawn, are natives of Hindustan, Chinese, Arabs, and Europeans. Of the Asiatic dealers, the Chinese are the most useful, numerous, and distinguished. They here occupy the same situation which the Jews did among the barbarians of the middle ages of Europe, except that, perhaps, as they are placed under circumstances more favourable, they are more frequently engaged in the pursuit of fair mercantile speculation, and seldomer in the invidious one of lending to spendthrifts at high interest. The different foreign merchants residing in the Archipelago take their rank in the extent of the dealings they conduct, according to the civilization of the nations to which they belong. The higher branches are in the hands of the European merchants, and the details of intercourse with the natives of the country fall naturally into the more supple management of the Arabs, the Telingas, and Chinese, better fitted, from manners and character, for a direct intercourse with them.

The natives of the Indian islands are far enough from having arrived at that period of civilization in which skilful measures are pursued by the public

for facilitating intercourse, and for the distribution and exchange of the surplus produce of the different portions of the same country. I know no exception to this but the institution of public markets, which had its origin in Java, and which spread in some measure among the neighbouring tribes, as we learn on the testimony of language. Throughout the whole of Java, these are regularly established; and, as mentioned in another place, the ancient Javanese week was founded on this institution. The allotment of particular quarters of a town for the permanent sale of commodities was probably borrowed from the Mahomedans, for the term *Pasar*, applied to these, appears to be nothing more than a corruption of the Arabic word *băzar*. The Indian islanders have neither religious zeal nor civilization enough to have any institutions parallel to the great fairs or *Melas* which periodically take place in Hindustan. The ordinary markets of Java present scenes of great bustle and activity. Under the shade of a few scattered trees, planted for the purpose, or of temporary sheds, the dealers expose their wares for sale on frames of bamboo. The whole value of their goods seldom exceeds a few dollars. A short list of the principal dealers in these markets will convey some notion of the nature of the traffic conducted. These are the corn-dealer—the oil-merchant—the sugar-merchant—the salt-merchant—the green-grocer—the dealer

in onions, garlic, and *trasi*—the dealer in cocoa-nuts—the dealer in sugar-cane—the butcher—the poulterer—the ambulatory cook, who has a *portable* kitchen—the flower-seller—the tobacconist—the vender of *gambir* or *terra Japonica*—the vender of *betel*—the vender of *areca*—the vender of wax and frankincense—the draper—the vender of cotton—the vender of cotton-thread—the vender of indigo—the vender of lac, and other dye-stuffs—the dyer—the vender of iron—the vender of *kris* scabbards—the vender of *kris* handles—the vender of *krises*—the vender of spears—the wood-merchant—the vender of gunpowder—the vender of brass and copper utensils—the horse-dealer. We perceive, in this enumeration, a very minute subdivision of employments, indicating very considerable commercial improvement. The principal artisans who present themselves in the market for employment are, the blacksmith—the goldsmith—the brazier—the dyer—and the painter of cotton cloths. Except where Europeans have made some impression in the way of colonization, roads, bridges, or canals, are altogether unknown. The roads are mere pathways, and the bridges but temporary and inconvenient rafts. In a general view, wheel-carriage for the transportation of merchandise is unknown. Where water-carriage is not to be had, goods are conveyed on men's shoulders, or on oxen and horses; costly goods and difficult roads

more particularly demanding the first, and more bulky commodities, with easier routes, admitting of the latter. On the great roads which lead from the port of Samarang, in Java, to the capitals of the native princes, through some of the most populous and improved parts of the island, five thousand itinerant porters are constantly employed in the transport of merchandise. Droves of pack-horses and oxen are constantly to be seen on the same route. A great deal of the commercial as well as other intercourse of the Indian islanders is by water. The frequent rivers of their country, and the pacific sea which everywhere surrounds them, almost as safely navigated as those rivers, afford wonderful facilities to commerce.

Notwithstanding the apparent similarity of the climate of the different islands, there is a prodigious variety of production. The more improved tribes, and those inhabiting the most fertile soils, supply the less improved with food and clothing, and receive, in exchange, the peculiar productions of those countries, generally in a crude form, or nearly as they come from the hand of nature. The first description of merchandise may be enumerated as follow: Rice—a variety of pulses—vegetable oils—cotton wool—manufactured cotton—tobacco—salt—sugar—and indigo. The second description consists of gold—tin—ivory—catechu—Benjamin—dry-fish, &c. The necessities or luxu-

ries of strangers give a powerful impulse to the internal commerce of the Archipelago; and from this source springs the traffic which is driven in collecting the following list of commodities: Edible birds'-nests—*tripang*, or *bech de mer*—black-pepper—cloves, mace, and nutmegs—camphor—sharks' fins,—and tortoise-shell, &c. &c. Besides the coasting and internal trade, conducted in the different productions just enumerated, by strangers or foreign settlers, the most powerful and civilized tribes have always themselves conducted a considerable carrying trade. These considerable tribes are the Javanese, the Malays, and Bugis, the great tribes of the three finest islands, Java, Sumatra, and Celebes.

The annals of the Spice Islands mention, that, as early as the year 1332, the Javanese were in the habit of frequenting Ternati, then the paramount island of the group, for cloves, and they are again mentioned as forming settlements there, along with the Malays, about the period of the conversion of their inhabitants to the Mahomedan religion. One or other of the three great tribes above-mentioned, in all probability, indeed, conducted the spice trade from the earliest periods. It was the demands of the western world which stimulated this commerce, and the adventure of those tribes may be considered as the *first* link in that long commercial chain which brought the spices of the Moluccas through many

nations of barbarians to the gates of Rome, the inhabitants of which were ignorant of the countries which produced them, and of the means by which they obtained them. The spices obtained by these adventurers at the eastern extremity of the Archipelago were carried to the emporia of the west, to Malacca, Achin, and some of the ports of Java, where they were purchased, in the earlier ages of the commerce, by the Hindus, and in later times by these, jointly with the Arabs.

The war pursued by European nations against the commerce and industry of the native inhabitants, suppressed the traffic of the Javanese and Malays, who, from their situation, fell more immediately within their power. The people of Celebes are now the most considerable and enterprising of the navigators of the Indian islands, and among them the Bugis of *Waju* are the most distinguished. Some account of their adventures, therefore, will prove interesting. The original country of these people is the banks of the great fresh water lake *Tapara-karaja*, in the south-western limb of Celebes, and towards the northern part of that limb. Europeans are wholly unacquainted with the nature of this country; but from the analogy of other situations, we may safely infer, that a territory which has given rise to so much comparative civilization, and so much mercantile enterprise, is a land of considerable fertility. There is

no country of the Archipelago possessed of any advantages for trade, in which the Bugis of *Waju* are not found settled, and, in some situations, they have even colonized as a body, and founded independent states. The lake above-mentioned communicates by rivers navigable for the largest native craft, both with the Bay of Boni to the east, and with the sea to the west. The voyage from the shores of the lake is commenced in the beginning of the easterly monsoon. The adventurers carry on a trading voyage as they proceed westward, until at Rhio, Malacca, Penang, and Achin, they reach the limits of the Archipelago, and are prepared to return with the change of season. The commodities which they export from their native country, or collect, in the course of their outward voyage, for the supply of the most distant islands, are the excellent and durable cotton cloths of their native country, gold-dust, nutmegs, Spanish dollars, birds'-nests, camphor, Benjamin, or frankincense, and tortoise-shell. They bring back from the extremities of the Archipelago, either for the supply of the intermediate tribes, or that of their own countrymen, opium, European broad cloth, European and Indian cotton goods, unwrought iron, and tobacco. This voyage is necessarily the most considerable and important of the adventures of the *Waju* merchants, but many subordinate ones are undertaken, in which the chief object is to collect materials for

the markets of China, as birds'-nests, ornamental feathers, tortoise-shell, and *Tripang*, or sea slug. The most singular and interesting of these voyages is the adventure made to the southern coast of New Holland, for the fishery of the last mentioned article. Upwards of forty vessels, of from twenty to fifty tons, quit Macassar annually for the coast of New Holland, besides numbers that go elsewhere in search of the same object. A vessel of twenty tons, manned by twenty-five hands, is considered to be successful, if she have obtained seven thousand pounds weight of *Tripang*. It is the capital of the Chinese resident merchants, which sets these adventures on foot, as they advance to the undertakers from two to four hundred Spanish dollars, according to the extent of their equipment, securing to themselves the *refusal* of the cargo. These sketches will suffice to convey some notion of the character and extent of this department of native commerce.

Having considered the nature of the traffic conducted by the Indian islanders, both domestic and international, I shall take a view of the regulations under which the commerce with strangers is conducted, and the provision made for its arrangement. By all the nations from Japan to Bengal, foreign trade is rather *tolerated* than encouraged. If a stranger is permitted to trade, it is considered eminently as a favour conferred upon him, rather than as a benefit to the society with whom he main-

tains an intercourse. The tribes of the Indian islands entertain *some* of those feelings in common with the rest. The first thing to be done by a stranger merchant coming among them, is to conciliate the good will of the prince, and obtain his permission to trade, which must be done by an offer of gifts. The imposition of regular duties on trade is *seldom* thought of. The short-sighted judgment of the native prince sees an apparently obvious benefit to be derived from buying cheap and selling dear, and he either makes a monopoly of the traffic, or parts with the privilege of trading to some favourite, or for some valuable consideration. A Malay prince is, therefore, as already mentioned, in general the first and often the only merchant in his country.* Where a busy traffic with the more enlightened nations of Asia was established, and especially where Arabs and their de-

* Beaulieu, speaking of Achin, describes this character of the commerce with strangers perfectly well: "But the greatest damp on the trade of that place," says he, "is that the king engrosses it all into his own hands; for what commodities he buys, he must have them under a market-price, and what he sells rises fifty per cent. above it;" and again he says of the king, "He knew very well that his buying pepper at the same time would stifle my market, and if any one had sold me pepper he would certainly have punished him, under pretext of preferring my custom to his."—Harris's *Collection*, Vol. I.

scendants obtained the sovereignty, a policy in a good measure more enlarged and liberal has been occasionally pursued, and considerable freedom of commerce permitted. The consequences have always, as might be reckoned upon, been most beneficial. Commerce has flourished, and such states have always risen to comparative opulence and grandeur, of which Malacca, Bantam, Achin, Palembang, Pontianak, and Macassar, are examples. In these states commerce was of such consequence, that the management of it became a separate department of the administration, and the officer presiding over it under the Persian name of *Shah-bandar*, borrowed, perhaps, intermediately from the Telinga, was the highest and the most important functionary of the state.

CHAPTER II.

COMMERCE WITH ASIATIC NATIONS.

Intercourse with China.—Its history and early character.—Character of foreign commerce with the Chinese, and regulations under which it is tolerated.—Navigation and shipping of the Chinese.—Nature of the import cargoes.—Amount of shipping employed.—Trade between the Indian islanders and the Hindu-Chinese nations.—Trade of the Archipelago with the country of the Hindus.—Probable history of the first intercourse between them.—Present state of the trade.—Imports and exports.—Trade between the Indian islands and Arabia.—Its history and character.—Arabian navigation.—Exports and imports.

A COMMERCIAL intercourse has, from very remote times, subsisted between the Archipelago and all the great maritime nations of Asia. I shall, in the present chapter, furnish a sketch of the history and circumstances of this connection, beginning with that of the Chinese, and successively rendering an account of—that with the Hindu-Chinese nations, —the nations of Hindustan,—and the Arabs and Persian,—as, in other parts of the world, we find that it is the more opulent and civilized that have always visited the country of those that are less so.

All the strangers, therefore, who, in any age, have held a commercial connection with the Indian islanders, have invariably visited them; while the spirit of adventure, or the ambition of wealth and fame, has never carried the inhabitants of the Archipelago beyond the waters which wash their native islands.

The most extensive, intimate, and probably the most ancient, of the foreign commercial relations of the Indian islands, is that with *China*. A demand for the most peculiar of the products of the Indian islands may be said to be now interwoven with the unchangeable habits, manners, and even religious ceremonies, of the singular population of that empire. From this fact alone, which is of more value than the imperfect records of either the Chinese or the Indian islanders, we may safely infer, that a commercial intercourse has subsisted for many ages between them. We must guard ourselves, however, against imagining that, in early times, it was a busy or an active intercourse. There is unquestionable proof, indeed, of the contrary. At present, since the road has been shewn to them by Europeans, and parts of the country, rendered by *their* protection a safe residence, the Chinese have displayed a strong tendency to settle and colonize. Before this period, they had certainly shewn nowhere a disposition to settle, as is sufficiently demonstrated by a total absence, not only of such colonization, but by that of any vestige of the lan-

guage, habits, or manners of such a colony. Formosa, as I have noticed in another place, an island within twenty leagues of the coast of the most commercial province of the empire, was, by the confession of the Chinese, only discovered by them, and that too by accident, as late as the year 1430, and was not occupied until 231 years thereafter, when the genius of European manners and institutions had rendered it a comfortable and safe abode. In the same way the Philippines, neglected by them in all previous periods of their own history, were coveted when the Spaniards had established some degree of tranquillity within them, and rendered them a safe asylum for this timid and unenterprising race. The Chinese population of Java was established under the very same circumstances. Few or none had the courage to settle under the turbulent government of the natives, but the Dutch had been scarcely established when there was an inundation of Chinese settlers, and, in little more than a century, their masters considered it necessary to massacre them by thousands to lessen their redundancy. The political institutions of the Chinese are remarkable among those of Asiatic people, for the uncommon share of tranquillity they are found, by experience, capable of maintaining, and for the security they thus afford to life and property. This, in a fertile country, and favourable situation, has been quite adequate to produce an immense popu-

lation, and the pressure of population against the means of subsistence has, by necessity, begot a patient and systematic industry unknown to other Asiatic nations. This industry, however, we find, is constantly directed to objects of mere necessity, or of the gratification of the senses, and never assumes a character of intellectual enterprise. There is nothing, indeed, in the character of the Chinese that would lead us to believe them capable of bold and perilous adventure, and I must, for this reason, and others to be now mentioned, utterly discredit their distant voyages beyond the Indian islands, to Malabar, or the Persian Gulf. The only authentic record of a distant voyage made by them, is that in which the celebrated Venetian Marco Polo was engaged. The circumstances of it, which are very remarkable, deserve a particular examination, as they throw much light on the subject of our inquiry. The Tartar sovereign of Persia sent ambassadors to his relation *Kublăi*, the Tartar emperor of China, for a wife. A young lady of the royal family was conceded to him, and she and her retinue attempted to proceed to Persia by land, but, from the wars among the princes of Tartary, found this impracticable. The Polo family were now at the Chinese court, and Marco had just returned from a voyage among the Indian islands, which the Persian ambassadors *hearing* of, proposed to return to their native country by sea,

with the prospect of having the Europeans as their pilots. I shall state the circumstance in the language of the editor of the travels: "About the time of their (the ambassadors) reappearance, Marco Polo happened to arrive from a voyage he had made, with a few vessels under his orders, to some ports of the East Indies, * and reported to the grand *Khan* the intelligence he brought respecting the countries he had visited, with the circumstances of his own navigation, which he said was performed in these seas with the utmost safety. This latter observation having reached the ears of the three ambassadors, who were extremely anxious to return to their own country, from whence they had now been absent three years, presently sought a conference with our Venetians, whom they found equally desirous of revisiting their home; and it was settled between them that the former, accompanied by their young queen, should obtain an audience of the grand *Khan*, and represent to him with what convenience and security they might effect their return by sea, to the dominions of their master; whilst the voyage would be attended with less expence than the journey by land, and be performed in a shorter time, according to the experience of Marco Polo, who had late-

* To some of the Indian islands, in the opinion of Mr Marsden.

ly sailed in those parts. Should his majesty incline to give his consent to their adopting that mode of conveyance, they were then to urge him to suffer the three Europeans, as being persons well skilled in the practice of navigation, to accompany them until they should reach the territory of king Arghun." * The emperor gave his consent to the sea-voyage; and, in 1291, the embassy, with the Europeans accompanying it, sailed from the *Peiho* in a fleet of fourteen *junks*, provisioned for two years. They took three months to reach Sumatra, a voyage that a Chinese junk would now make in probably one-fourth of the time, and no less than eighteen months more to reach Ormuz, or whatever other part of the Persian territory they first made. The following commentary on these circumstances naturally occurs. When Marco Polo told the Chinese court of the facility of navigating the Indian seas, from his own experience, it was received as *news*. It is highly improbable, therefore, that the voyage could have been familiar to the Chinese: on this occasion, it looks as if it had been undertaken for the *first* time, and only on the prospect of having the Europeans as pilots. An imperial fleet, which we must naturally suppose equipped in the best manner, took two years to reach the port of its destination;

* Marsden's excellent translation of Marco Polo, p. 28.

it would naturally take two years to come back. A commercial voyage, the returns of which could not be made in less than four years, could hardly be conducted by any people, and especially by a people who borrow money at an exorbitant interest. It cannot well be argued that the trade might have been conducted, and yet the Tartar sovereign and his court be ignorant of it, for the family of *Jengez Khan* had at this time been in complete possession of China and its coasts for a number of years. *Kublai* personally was remarkable for his desire to render himself acquainted with foreign countries; and, before the period in question, had sent an unsuccessful expedition of four thousand vessels, and 240,000 men, against Japan.* Had the Chinese been in the habit of frequenting the coasts of Hindustan, surely the Portuguese, long anxious to gain admittance to China, must have met with them; and from their wealth, which they would not have wanted a pretext to plunder, compared to that of the traders of India, could not have failed to have mentioned so remarkable a circumstance. Their not having done so on any occasion, nearly amounts to a direct proof that, when *they* arrived in India, no direct intercourse existed between China and Hindustan.

I am strongly tempted even to suspect that the Arabs, who traded direct from their own country

* Kempfer's *History of Japan.*

to the Indian islands and China, as early as the ninth century at least, were the first to instruct the Chinese perhaps even in the route to the Indian islands, as the Europeans in later times shewed them the way to, or at least the advantages of, Formosa and the Philippines. It is not *improbable* that the fleet in which Marco Polo sailed had Arabian pilots, even from its first setting out, and highly *probable* that such were obtained for the more distant part of the voyage, that is, from Sumatra to the Persian Gulf, where the traveller himself says Arabs were settled, and carrying on a commerce with their native country.* Etymology comes in some degree to our assistance on this point. It is not by a Chinese name but an Arabian, or at least a Persian one, *Chin*, that the maritime part of the Chinese empire is known to the Indian islanders. It is a legitimate conclusion from this,—that whether the people of the west made the Indian islands

* Mr Marsden supposes the existence, in the fleet, of these pilots, without drawing the same inference from it that I have done. "It should be observed," says he, "that the *Perlak* of the Malays is pronounced *Ferlak* by the Arabs, who have not the sound of P in their language; and, amongst the pilots of the fleet, it is probable there were many of that nation who were accustomed to trade to China from the Gulf of Persia and Muskat."—Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p. 601.

first known to the Chinese or not, it looks as if they made the Chinese known to the Indian islanders, which, in a practical view, amounts to the same thing. It is pretended that the Chinese were acquainted with the mariner's compass, and it is hence argued that they must have been great navigators, and made distant voyages. It might as well be insisted upon, that, because they were acquainted with an imperfect kind of printing, they must necessarily have made the same use of this noble invention that the European nations have done. If they were acquainted with the compass, and turned their knowledge of the polarity of the magnetic needle to any useful purpose, the Arabs who lived among them, converted many of them to their religion, and for centuries carried on a busy trade with them, could not, by any possibility, be ignorant of so great a discovery. These Arabs, after between at least six and seven hundred years intercourse with the Chinese, were still, as is well known, unacquainted with the compass when Vasco di Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope, yet immediately after borrowed it from the Europeans.

It is probable that the Chinese, as well as the Arabs, made a coasting voyage to the Indian islands; and that the shorter and safe voyage which they now pursue they have both been instructed in by Europeans. This circumstance is strongly corroborated by a well-known fact, which

is strikingly illustrative of the character of the people, and of which those acquainted with the trade of the junks are well aware, that almost every one of them has a pilot, a native Portuguese, or other individual of the European race and education, who has the entire direction of the navigation. I remember having once seen, in 1814, a large junk arrive from the port of Amoy, at Samarang, in Java, in the short period of thirteen days, under the conduct of an *American* pilot, accidentally obtained. Marco Polo's fleet took three months to perform a voyage of nearly the same length; and, in short, actually performed a coasting voyage, having touched, as far as can be ascertained, at *Hainan*, *Kamboja*, *Champa*, *Kondur*, *Bintăn*, and Sumatra, proving, past all doubt, that he did not sail by the compass. He even adds himself a remark that proves it could not have been the practice in his time. Intending to convey some notion of those countries of the Indian islands most frequented by the Chinese junks, he supposes the whole to be one island; and, as the Arabs do at this day, gave the name of *Java* the most renowned, and the only one which had probably reached him, to this country, of which he says, "That the Grand *Khan* has not brought the island under subjection to him, must be attributed to the *length* of the voyage, and the *dangers* of the navigation." From the port of Canton to the centre of the Archipelago, this

voyage, described as so distant and so dangerous, is now performed by a Chinese junk, navigating by the compass, in *fifteen* days.

It may be further remarked, that the circumstances of the voyage made by the fleet which the Emperor *Kublai* sent for the conquest of Borneo or Java, prove the very same thing. It sailed from one of the very ports of *Fo-kien* from which the junks sail at this day, and took sixty-eight days to reach its destination, making, like Marco Polo and his fleet, a coasting voyage of it, sailing along the shores of Tonquin and Cochin China. *

In the native annals of the Indian islanders, the first distinct mention made of the Chinese is a notice that they came to trade in cloves at *Ternati*, one of the spice islands, in the reign of *Mărhum*, king of that island, whose reign commenced in 1465. The wife of the last monarch of the Buddhist religion in Java is, in the annals of that island, expressly stated to have been a Chinese. That monarch lost his kingdom and his life in 1478, so that these two transactions accord very nearly in date. From the Javanese annals of the same period, we *glean* that there was some intercourse between Java and Champa and Kamboja, in the route from China by the coasting voyage. It is remarkable that the Arabs are expressly mentioned as having

* *Histoire des Huns*, Liv. 16, p. 186.

been concerned in the transaction in which this last intercourse is alluded to. Independent, indeed, of European or Arabian testimony, we have the express authority of native records for the fact of an intercourse existing with the Arabs in *Ternati*, near a century and a half, and with the Javanese for a still longer period, before any notice whatever is taken of the Chinese.

By the *Chinese accounts*, their intercourse with the Indian islands is stated to have been very early. The P. Amirot and De Guignes the elder, mention, on the authority of Chinese annals, a country of the Indian islands which they term *Kouaoua*. This is supposed by commentators to have been Borneo or Java; but it is more consonant to the ignorance and imperfection of the intercourse of the Chinese to imagine that it applies *generally* to *all* the countries of the Archipelago rather than to any *one* in particular. *Han Toko*, a most acute and intelligent Chinese of *Surabaia*, in Java, well versed in the literature of China, and familiar with the Malay language and the customs of Java, supplied me with some account of the country alluded to by Amiot and De Guignes, from a Chinese work printed at Pekin in the reign of *Kanhi*. The following is an abstract of the narrative it gives. The country, it states, was formerly called Cha-po, but now Jao-wa. This country became first known to the Chinese in the reign of an Em-

peror called *Lao-Gil-yong*, of the dynasty called *Song*, whom I presume to be *Kao-tsou-vou-ti*, the first prince of the dynasty Song, whose reign, according to Du Halde, commenced in the year of Christ 420, and who was a prince possessed of great qualities. At two other and distant periods, the kings of *Chapo*, or *Koua-oua*, or *Jao-wa*, are described as sending missions of homage, as all missions from foreign princes are construed by the ignorance and vanity of the Chinese to be, to China. In the reign of the first Tartar sovereign of China, the celebrated *Kublai*, and in the thirteenth year of his reign, an attempt is stated to have been made against *Jao-wa*, which failed, owing to the *great numbers* of the people of the country. The thirteenth year of the reign of *Kublai* corresponds with the year 1292. The Chinese accounts, as we come down, become more circumstantial, and seem to be more identified with the particular history of the island of Java. In the fifth year of the reign of *Ching Tsu*, better known by the name of *Yong-Lo*, of the dynasty of *Meng*, the king of the western portion of *the island* is described as having conquered the king of the eastern portion. The former is called, in the Chinese work, *To-wa-pan*. This fact, if it really refer to Java, as has been supposed, seems to coincide with an important fact in the history of that island, the foundation of *Mojopahit*, by a refugee from the

western kingdom of *Pājajaran*. It would correspond with the year 1324 of Javanese time. In the sixteenth year of the same reign, the king of *Jao-wa* is described as sending a mission to China, with a gift of a white parrot or cockatoo! I mention this last circumstance only because the name of the king, which is remarkable, if the interpretation be any thing more than fanciful, bears a close resemblance, indeed almost an identity, with the name or titles of ancient Javanese sovereigns. It is *Yang-wi-se-sa*,* which means "the mighty

* The articulation or pronunciation of the Chinese is so imperfect, and so utterly unlike that of all the rest of mankind, that it is only by mere accident that they ever pronounce a foreign word rightly. Independent, therefore, of their ignorance, their selfishness, their want of feeling and imagination, and their gross and exclusive devotion to objects of mere sensual gratification, their descriptions of foreign countries and manners must be altogether unintelligible to strangers. I shall quote, as examples of their perversion of foreign names, a few of the names of places as they were written down for me by a Creole Chinese of Java. The Chinese born and brought up in the Archipelago, it ought to be noticed, have none of the imperfections in pronunciation of their progenitors. Tăgal they make Tăk-kat—Cheribon—Cha-li-bun—Brăbăs, Golo-bat—Kăndal, Gan-tra—Japara, Ji-pla-la—Gărsik, Kăt-lik-sik—Blambangan, Gwalam-bang—Sumănăp, Syang-kin-lap—Borneo, correctly Burnai, Bun-lai—Palembang—Ku-kang—Banda—Bal-lan—Samarang, Sam-pa-lan—Ternati, Kan-na-ti—Macassar, Bangkasat. It sometimes, however, happens that the name consists of such sounds as are familiar to the organs of

or powerful." The description of the people and their manners is done in many respects with graphic accuracy, and accords faithfully with the character of the Indian islanders. The men, for example, always wear a short weapon of exquisite workmanship (the *kris*)—they never inflict corporal punishment—the punishment of death is very frequent—execution is performed by stabbing—the people are of a resentful disposition—in their marriage ceremonies, the man goes to the woman's house, not the woman to the man's—in the disposal of the dead, some are thrown into the water, some burnt, and some buried. The account given of the exports of the country, though some of the articles appear whimsical, are exactly those of the Indian islands, as gold, pearls, rhinoceros' horns, elephants' teeth, tortoise-shell, betel-nut, black pepper, suppan and agila wood, paroquets, green pigeons, doves of various hues, &c. The only two articles not easily accounted for are silver and cotton, unless these were brought to the emporia frequented by the Chinese, through the Hindus, and Arabs coming to the same places, and exchanging them for spices, &c.

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the Chinese, and then it is of course pronounced accurately or nearly so; thus Ambun, or Amboyna, is Am-bun,—Bali is Ba-li—Ma-la-ka, Mo-la-ka—Bantam, properly Bantăn, Ban-tan. If a place have two names, they will gladly adopt the easiest, though the least known; thus, for Batavia, or Jacatra, they say Ka-la-pa, and for Pasuruhan, Gam-bong.

I have entered the more fully into this disquisition, because it concerns a point of history of much interest, and tends to make us better acquainted with the real commercial character of all the parties concerned in it.

The Chinese pretend to despise foreign trade; they are, indeed, a jealous and unsocial people, and are far from having arrived at that point of civilization when men are prompted, by their passion for gain, to get rid of some share of their antipathy to strangers, and to perceive the benefits of a foreign intercourse. Their extensive empire extends over so many climes, containing necessarily such various productions, easily distributed throughout by an extensive internal navigation, that they stand apparently in little need of foreign commerce. Other causes contribute. The sea-coast of China is small in proportion to the area of the country, and to the population; it is dangerous to navigate; the Chinese are timid and unskilful navigators, and, finally, they have no rich neighbours that are willing or anxious for a free intercourse with them.

The government of China expresses, therefore, an avowed hostility to foreign commerce, and tolerates it rather than protects it. The trade of all others that they are least jealous of, is that of the Indian islands. It brings them productions on which they put a real value, and the weakness of those with whom it is carried on disarms them of

all political jealousy. Whatever be the foreign trade conducted by the subjects of China, the invariable practice of the government is to place it in the hands of a few individuals, who become answerable that it shall be conducted under all the restrictions and conditions required by law. One or all of these *security merchants*, as they have been called, must be amenable for every ship that arrives at, or sails from China, both in as far as regards the regulations of trade as the conduct of the crew. These persons pay a premium to the government for the privilege they enjoy, and reimburse themselves by laying the trade open, and exacting from the adventurers a certain per centage on the investments. At the port of Amoy, or Em-ui, in the province of Fo-kien, the principal seat of this commerce, the security merchants are three in number, and exact from the adventurers a duty of six per cent. on exports, and five on imports. It is evident that the principles on which this trade are conducted are as completely different from those of our joint stock company monopolies as can well be imagined, though they have absurdly enough been compared. The Chinese security merchants do not trade on a joint stock among themselves, and they leave the trade nearly free to competition.

There is no subject of legislation on which, in semi-barbarous times, so many gross errors, the result of impertinent interference and over-govern-

ing, are committed as in that of foreign commerce. China affords examples of this as well as modern Europe, and it is singular enough to remark, how much alike are the errors committed by the legislators of both. For the conduct of foreign commerce, each has its monopoly, and in China we discover all the errors and absurdities of the mercantile system of political economy, the ridicule of the present generation, though the boast of our predecessors. The Chinese, indeed, carry the principle of the mercantile system to an extreme, which would have excited the admiration or envy of the European politicians of the early part of the last century. As our politicians did, they believe that money is wealth; they are peculiarly prepossessed in favour of that foreign trade, which appears to bring in the largest share of it; and they prohibit its exportation. They prohibit also the exportation of all articles of a durable nature, many articles of great value *in use*, and some to which the absurd nationality of the people attach a factitious value. The following may be enumerated in their list of exclusion: The precious metals, wrought and unwrought; the useful metals, wrought and unwrought, especially in the form of domestic utensils, corn of all kinds, raw silk, and *Chinese books*. The importation, on the contrary, of the raw materials of food in any form, and of drugs, with the exception of those that are intoxicating, are either

legal or popular. Notwithstanding these restrictions, it is by no means to be supposed that the prohibited articles are not traded in. By force of corruption, all-powerful in China, the articles deemed by law contraband are freely imported and exported, and a thorough understanding to evade the law exists between the magistrate and the merchant. The only bad effect, therefore, of this clandestine system is, that the bribery which is indispensable, enhances the price of the goods, and, on that account, restricts the consumption.

Almost all the foreign trade of China is conducted from the two maritime provinces of Quantong and Fo-kien. It is from the latter that the greater portion of the Chinese trade with the Indian islands is carried on. The most numerous, the largest, and the richest *junks*, sail from this province, which, although one of the smallest of the empire, is remarkable for the enterprise of its inhabitants, the excellence of its sea-ports, as well as the production of almost all the *black tea* which is exported to foreign countries. The principal port of exportation is *Hiamen*, which we name Amoy, or, more correctly, *Em-ui*, from the name of the island, which forms its capacious and excellent harbour.

The character of the commerce conducted between the Indian islands and China will not be intelligible without some description of the shipping and navigation in which it is conducted.

The state of the arts of ship-building and navigation among nations afford us at once an easy and certain criterion to judge of their comparative civilization and barbarism. This applies as well to the nations of Asia among themselves, as to those of Europe among each other. The vessels and ships of the Chinese are, notwithstanding their imperfection, greatly superior in construction, size, and utility, to those of all other Asiatic people, who have not had the assistance of Europeans, or their example. The common Chinese name for these vessels, which perform foreign voyages, is *Tcheou*. The Portuguese call them *Soma*, the Indian islanders *Wangkang*, and we name them *Junks*, a corruption of the word *Jung*, meaning a *large vessel*, in contradistinction to boats or canoes, in several of the languages of the western portion of the Archipelago. Almost all the junks employed in the commerce between the Indian islands and China are built at *Bangkok*, on the great river of Siam, and the capital of that kingdom. This is chosen for its convenience, and the extraordinary cheapness and abundance of fine timber, especially teak, which it affords. The parts of the vessel under water are constructed of ordinary timber, but the upper works of *teak*. Iron bolts are used in fixing the frame and planking. The seams are very neatly caulked, with an oakum made from the bamboo, and the bottom is payed with the sort of rosin which the

Malays call *Damar*, and with quicklime. The bow is flat, like the stern, but much smaller, having no keel, or *cutwater*. The stern has an immense channel, or chamber, in which the rudder receives protection from the sea. The masts are from two to four in number, and very disproportionate in size, the principal, or main-mast, being greatly larger than any of the rest. They consist but of a single spar each. The sails are but a single square sail on each mast, made of mats of split bamboo, and extended by yards of that cane. They have but one deck, and the whole hold is divided into little cabins, or compartments, to lodge the goods, and afford accommodation to each separate adventurer. Pumps are either unknown, or not made use of. The cables are made of twisted rattans; the anchors of iron-wood, having their flukes occasionally tipped with iron. The standing and running rigging are either of rattan, or *coir* the fibre of the coco-nut. The whole appearance of a Chinese junk is remarkably grotesque and singular. The deck presents the figure of a crescent. The extremities of the vessel are disproportionately high and unwieldy, conveying an idea that any sudden gust of wind would not fail to upset her. At each side of the bow there is a large white spot or circle to imitate eyes! These vessels, except before the wind, are bad sailers, and very unmanageable. They require a nu-

merous crew to navigate them. An European merchantman is well navigated with hands in the proportion of four to each hundred tons, but these require near forty, or in the proportion of ten to one. Of one of the largest size, it often takes fifty men to manage the helm alone. The size of the junks usually depends on the nature of the ports to which they are accustomed to sail. As these are shallow or deep, they are small or large, from two hundred to the enormous and unwieldy size of twelve hundred tons. Some of those trading between Batavia and Amoy are of this last size. Imperfect as the construction of the Chinese vessels is, it appears, at present, impossible to contemplate improvement, for to alter what has existed from time immemorial, is contrary to the manners, or, which is the same thing, to the laws of China, and an infringement of the laws, however venial to appearance, is *treason* in that country. An attempt to improve the form of the Chinese junk is said to have been made, some years ago, on the model of European vessels, but met with such severe reprehension, that it was found discreet to desist from it.

The officers of a Chinese junk consist of the commander, whose business it is to look after the crew, —of a pilot who attends to the navigation,—and of quarter-masters who attend to the steerage. Order and subordination are well preserved, but this

arises rather from the sober and orderly character of the people, and the principle on which the crew are paid, each person having an interest in the voyage, with a quantity of tonnage proportionate to his services, than from any skilful and organized system of discipline.

The Chinese are utterly ignorant of navigation, as a science, and even of the useful practical parts of it. They keep no reckoning, and take no observation of the heavenly bodies to ascertain their situation, the ideas of the latitude and longitude of places being wholly unknown to them. The mariner's compass used by the Chinese is divided into twenty-four parts, probably the ancient subdivisions of the circumference of the horizon among them, before they became acquainted with the polarity of the magnetic needle, or at least before they applied it to any useful purpose. According to Du Halde, these compasses are all made at *Nangazaki*, in Japan. If this be true, or was true in the time of those on whose authority he compiled his work, the Chinese *may* have acquired the use of the mariner's compass through the Japanese, in whose country the customs, learning, and religion, of Europe had at one time made a deeper impression than they ever did in any other part of Asia. From whomever acquired, the Chinese compass is a very imperfect instrument, being clumsily fabricated, and the needle of the largest

not exceeding three inches in length.* The use made of it by the Chinese mariner is as awkward as the instrument is rude. The direction of the port he is steering for from the one he leaves being once ascertained, the vessel's head, making no allowances for the winds, currents, or circumstances of the navigation, is constantly kept towards it. This is, however, less preposterous than it seems at first sight, when we recollect that voyages are never undertaken but with the favourable monsoon, nor, indeed, but for the monsoons, could so distant an intercourse ever have taken place between nations so unskilful and so barbarous. The voyage from the port of Amoy to Batavia, under the most favourable circumstances, takes from twenty to twenty-five days; and, of course, one voyage a-year only can be performed. With all the unskilfulness of their management, I do not imagine, however, that many of the Chinese junks are shipwrecked. This is owing to the facility and security afforded by the monsoons, which are so well known to the Chinese pilots, that they avoid the tempestuous and dangerous periods of them. I remember but one example of a junk being lost, during between five and six years that I resided in Java, and of this one all the crew and some of the cargo was saved. A well-constructed and well-navigated English or Anglo-

* Barrow, Staunton, and Du Halde.

American vessel will easily perform three voyages for one voyage of a Chinese junk; that is, she will make three voyages between Batavia and China within the twelvemonth, and this too with much more security to herself and cargo. She will do it with one-tenth part of the crew, and of some particular goods, she will, in the same tonnage, stow an incomparably larger quantity.* There is, in fact, the same wide difference between the cost of the work done by them, that there is between that effected by manual labour, and by the most skilful and perfect piece of machinery. Notwithstanding all this, the trade carried on by the junks has some advantages over that conducted by Europeans. The Chinese have an intimate knowledge of the markets, and a skill in assorting and laying in their cargoes, which no European, in the existing state of things, can acquire; and they display a rigid economy, and give an attention to details which, in these climates, are foreign to the habits of an European. They have, over and above, peculiar advantages in the ports of their own country, some of them such as afford the most favourable materials of a commerce with the Indian islands, the European merchant being altogether excluded from.

The cargo of a Chinese junk is not the property of an individual, nor of two or three, as an ad-

* In cotton, for example, as two to one.

venture of the same nature would be among us, but consists of a great many small adventures, the proprietor of each of which accompanies his own, and has it in his separate compartment of the vessel, at his own exclusive disposal and control. The principal adventures are usually the joint property of a family, some members of which reside in the islands, and others in China. Of the extent of the risk and profit we may judge from the rate at which money is borrowed at Batavia for one of these adventures. This is usually forty per cent. The neat profit cannot be less than double this amount. On such bulky articles as tea and porcelain, the advance of price in the ports of the Indian islands is about from 150 to 200 per cent.; upon wrought silks and cottons about 100. These, however, it must be recollected, are not wholesale but retail prices, for as soon as the junks arrive at the ports of their destination in the Indian islands, shops are immediately opened, and the goods retailed by the owners.

The duties levied at the native ports on the junks are arbitrary and uncertain, varying, of course, at each port. Instead of levying an *ad valorem* duty upon the cargo, as would be done among us, a tax is imposed on the junk for the liberty of trading. This mode of payment is particularly agreeable to the Chinese, and, indeed, to all other Asiatic traders, who, naturally enough,

abhor the arbitrary interference of the officers of government with their property, and are glad to purchase an immunity from it at any price. In the native ports this price, indeed, is not extravagant, for it is, on calculation, seldom found to exceed two or three per cent. At the European ports, as usual, there is more exaction. The commerce of the Chinese is tolerated, because the governments are bribed to a little toleration from the supply which their needy treasuries receive from the trade of the junks. The practice, at Batavia, was to sell the privilege of trading to China in a junk of a certain size, from year to year, excluding all competition, and allowing, therefore, the patentee or contractor to impose what price he pleased on his goods.

The junks are distinguished into those *of green* heads or prows, and those of *red* prows; the first being distinguished by the Chinese laws with some privileges, and usually bearing by far the most valuable cargoes. The goods exchanged in the intercourse between China and the Indian islands are generally such as constitute the trade between a rich and a poor country, between a country densely peopled—and one thinly inhabited, but distinguished alike by the richness and singularity of its natural products. A large portion of the investments from China, however, it is to be remarked, are intended for the supply of the emigrants or

colonists of that nation in the Archipelago, and these, on the other hand, contribute greatly to collect or to create the return cargoes. The articles of importation from China may be enumerated in the order of their importance, as follow : Black tea, coarse porcelain, wrought iron, principally in the form of culinary vessels, *(kwali,)* cotton cloths, raw silk, wrought silk, brass-ware, paper, books, paint, shoes, fans, umbrellas, and toys. The articles of the return cargo are far more numerous, and may be said indeed to embrace, without exception, every article of the produce of the Archipelago. The most prominent are the following: Black pepper, cloves, mace, and nutmegs, long pepper, clove bark, ebony, sandal, sapan, and Agila wood, benzoin, camphor, ivory, tin, rattans, *Kawul*, or tinder of the *Gomute* palm, betel-nut, bees-wax, *Gambir*, and cotton wool, *agar-a-gar*, or sea-weed, *tripang*, or sea-slug, edible birds'-nests, jerk-beef, or *dendeng*, sharks' fins, fish maws, rhinoceros horns and hides, ox and buffalo hides and horns, tortoise-shell, gold-dust, silver coins, European woollens and cottons, &c. All these articles will be described at such length in a succeeding chapter, that it will be unnecessary, at present, to make any remarks upon them. The principal seats of this commerce in the Indian islands are Manilla and Batavia. The following statement contains the best account I have been able to collect of the

amount and distribution of this trade. Beginning with the western countries, there used to trade with Malacca, one junk from *Em-ui* of near 1000 tons burthen, which the unsettled state of European politics, affecting even those distant regions, with the competition of our colonial trade from India, have been the cause of discontinuing. In former times, a great many junks used to frequent Achin. This trade is now entirely at an end. Three junks, two from *Em-ui* of about 800 tons each, and one from the port of *Chang-lim* of 500, annually trade to *Lingen* and the other Malay islands, at the eastern entrance of the Straits of Malacca. One junk from *Em-ui*, of 800 tons, trades with *Tringanu*, and another of 800 tons with *Kălanten*, both of them Malay states on the western shore of the Gulf of Siam. The kingdom of Siam, from the similarity of its products, from its vicinity to the countries of the Indian Archipelago, and from the productions of some of the latter, which are tributary to it, passing through it to China, is looked upon by the Chinese as a portion of the group. The Chinese trade of Siam is chiefly carried on from the capital of the kingdom *Bangkok*, but with several Chinese ports of the provinces of *Fo-kien* and *Quantang*, as *Em-ui*, *Chang-lim*, *Tyan-chin*, *Limpo*, *Syang-hai*, and Canton. There are employed in it ten junks of green prows of 600 tons each, and ten of red prows, some of which do

not exceed 120, while others are as large as those of green prows. A considerable number of still smaller craft are also employed, and the king of Siam sends annually two junks on his own account, manned and navigated by Chinese, which are duty free in the ports of China, making probably the whole amount of the tonnage in this branch of the trade not less than 10,000 tons. The imports into Siam are the same as into the countries of the Indian Archipelago; and the exports, with few exceptions, such as the articles of rice, salt fish, and stick lac, the same also. The duties on the Chinese junks at Siam are extremely moderate. The king requires the refusal of such articles of their import investment as he may fancy, but their delivery is never compulsory; and I have it from some of those engaged in conducting the trade, that they have no room to complain of extortion or oppression.—The great number of Chinese settled in Borneo occasions much intercourse between China and that island. Three junks, of 500 tons burthen, sail to Borneo Proper; to Sambas there sail two from Chang-lim of 500 tons a-piece; to Pontianak, three of the same size, and to Mampawa two, also of 500; and to Banjarmassin, one of about 600, making in all about 5600 tons. The whole number to Java is seven junks, three from *Em-ui* of from 1000 to 1200 tons, and four from *Chang-lim* of about 500 tons each, making in all

5300. Six of these sail to the port of Batavia, and one to that of Samarang. The commerce between the *Suluk* islands and China is conducted by two rich junks, which sail from *Em-ui*, and average 800 tons a-piece. The only portion of the island of Celebes carrying on a direct trade with China is Macassar, to which there sail annually from *Em-ui* two small junks, of 500 tons each, or one large one of 1000. A small junk of 500 tons usually sails to Amboyna. Between Manilla and China the usual number of junks is four or five, of from 400 to 500 tons, making in all about 2000 tons. From this statement, it will appear that there is engaged in this commerce near 30,000 tons of shipping, *nine thousand* tons more than that usually engaged in the direct intercourse between Great Britain and China! Taking the value of the import cargo of each junk of 500 tons at 20,300 Spanish dollars, and the exports at the same, an estimate formed on an actual valuation, the annual value of the goods exchanged will be two millions four hundred and thirty-six thousand Spanish dollars, or L.548,100.

The intercourse between the Indian islands and the *Hindu-Chinese nations* is very limited,—a circumstance which arises from causes not difficult to explain. The spirit of foreign mercantile adventure does not belong to nations so little civilized as the inhabitants of either country. Until there

is long domestic tranquillity, a dense population, the good land of the country exhausted, and the population begins to press against the means of subsistence, foreign voyages, which imply both mercantile speculation and colonization, are not thought of in such states of society. The two parties at present in question are, in relation to the imperfect state of navigation among them, separated by too distant, and to them dangerous, a voyage to make it practicable to carry on a commerce in the bulky necessaries of life; and neither the one nor the other is rich or civilized enough to have an effective demand for the luxuries or superfluities of the other. Those Malay states of the peninsula which lie contiguous to the Siamese empire carry on a direct intercourse with it. It is in the shipping of the Malays, in this case the most civilized and enterprising, as far, at least, as navigation is concerned, that the traffic is conducted. The Malays carry to Siam their pepper and tin, and receive food in exchange, the cheap and excellent rice of that country.

The Chinese, who carry on so large a portion of the internal carrying trade of the Archipelago, conduct, also, all that is valuable of that of the Archipelago with the Hindu-Chinese nations. The peaceable, unambitious, and supple character of the Chinese, and the conviction, on the part of the native governments, of their exclusive devotion to commercial pursuits, disarm all jealousy, and

make them welcome guests everywhere. This very naturally and very justly gives them an equitable monopoly of the carrying trade, from which the ambition of Europeans, and the impolitic restraints of their own commercial policy, have excluded them. Of late years, the Chinese have brought the produce of Siam in considerable quantity into the different trading ports on the Straits of Malacca, from whence they have found their way to Europe. Many have even settled in the territory of Siam, where they manufacture sugar from the cane, which they bring to the above ports in large quantities, and at very moderate prices. In our times, the Chinese pointed out to the king of that country the benefits of extending an intercourse to Java; and two small junks, of 120 tons each, have been, since 1815, sent to Batavia, navigated by Chinese, but with the capital of the king, and ostensibly for his benefit. It was from the crew of one of these, among whom were two or three Siamese, that I obtained the information I have given in the preceding pages, respecting the commerce between Siam and China, as well as the principal part of what is now stated.

The next department of the commerce of the Indian islands with Asiatic nations is that with the *country of the Hindus*. In the account which I have rendered of the languages, religion, and ancient history of the Indian islanders, I have endea-

voured to point out the nature and extent of the intercourse which subsisted in ancient times between them and the Hindus. The history of commerce affords us one important fact to enable us to approximate towards ascertaining the era when this intercourse began. Among the materials of the ancient commerce of the Indies, those which alone are peculiar to the Indian islands are the produce of the clove and nutmeg tree, and perhaps gold. Pepper it has in common with Malabar; frankincense in common with Arabia. Cinnamon is not a production of the Archipelago, and tin has not been a *staple* above a century. In the earlier periods of the commerce of the east, the clove and nutmeg, which, in later times, were the most esteemed and sought after of all the productions of the East, are never mentioned. Cinnamon was known in the very earliest times, and even black pepper, fine cottons, and silk, were long known in the markets of the western world before we hear of the clove and nutmeg.* The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, supposed to be written in the tenth year of the reign of Nero, or about the year 63 of the Christian era, although it gives a minute catalogue of the articles of the commerce of the east, found in the markets of Egypt, Arabia, and the coasts of

* In attempting to offer some illustration of this period of ancient commerce, I have principally depended for my facts on a judicious and faithful guide, the learned Dr Vincent.

India, makes no mention whatever of those two spices. The legitimate inference to be drawn from this is, that, down to the period in question, no intercourse existed between the land of the Hindus and the country of spices; for I conclude that, had such intercourse existed, commodities so uniformly in request in every age of their history, among strangers of every climate and region, must have been imported by the Hindus,—found in their markets, and—circulated among the civilized nations of the west. Little more than a century after the age of the Periplus, or from 176 to 180, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when associated with his son Commodus, the clove is mentioned for the first time as an article of importation from the East, in the famous Roman law of the Digest, in which *every* article imported at the custom-house of Alexandria is particularly specified. From this time downwards, the clove and nutmeg are *always* mentioned as the most prized of the commodities of India. At that time, therefore, or towards the termination of the second century of our era, it is to be concluded, that an intercourse between the Hindus and the country of spices *must* inevitably have existed. It is plain, therefore, that that intercourse must have commenced in the century which was just elapsing.

It is to be supposed, that the Hindus had an intercourse with the western portion of the Archipela-

go for some little time before they became acquainted, either directly or indirectly, with the spices, and the more distant countries which produced them. The Portuguese themselves, with their superior skill, enterprise, and activity, a thorough knowledge of the value of the produce of the Moluccas, and an ardent desire to possess them, were some time at Malacca, and thirteen years in India, before they reached the land of spices. A much longer time must be given to the indolence and ignorance of the Hindu navigators; some time, also, to acquire a knowledge of unknown commodities; and some time, too, for the ultimate consumer to acquire a taste for them; for I have presumed already, in treating of the agriculture of those spices, and on the authority of language, that it was not the great tribes of the western portion of the Archipelago who taught the Hindus the practice of using spices, but the Hindus those tribes.

The first mention of the Golden Chersonesus is by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. He says there were, in the ports of Coromandel, large ships which traded with that country. Some commentators have conjectured that it must have been the Peninsula of Malacca that is here meant, but, as not one of the peculiar and exclusive products of the Archipelago are mentioned among the imports from thence, it appears improbable that this author could have meant any portion

of the Archipelago at all, and almost certain that he could not have meant the Malayan Peninsula. The first direct mention made of any portion of the Archipelago is by the geographer Ptolemy, about the middle of the second century. Two names are distinctly mentioned in his map, which are unequivocally native, viz., *Malayu*, and *Jaba*, *Java*, or *Jawa*, which are all synonimous. The word *Malayu* has appended to it the term *kolon*, and Jawa *diu*, or *dib*. *Malayu* and *Jawa*, it is already sufficiently known, are the names of the two great countries, or rather the two great tribes of the *west*. I shall presume to make a few observations on each, endeavouring to illustrate the subject by an application of the more accurate knowledge of those countries, and their inhabitants, which has been acquired of late years. I think that the great geographer, or rather those from whom he had his information, must have had the notices in question directly from Hindus, and these again from the people of Java particularly. The word *kolon* is without any alteration Javanese, and means "the west," and the compound word *Malayu-kolon*, exactly in the order in which it stands, *Malays of the west*. The Javanese must, therefore, the inference is, in all probability, have furnished the information in question, and the term *west* has probably reference to the geographical position of some one tribe of *Ma-*

lays in relation to others; for, to this day, the original Malays are divided into several distinct tribes, according to their geographical situation. The people of Java, when interrogated, would, at all events, have called *any* Malays "people of the west," and, indeed, do so now. There is an unanswerable objection against supposing *Malayu-kolon* to be on the Malayan peninsula, or, supposing this last to be the Golden Chersonesus, or Khruse, at all, which will occur at once to every one familiar with the well-known history of the Malays. It is this; in the age of Ptolemy, and for many ages after it, the Malayan peninsula was *uninhabited*, or inhabited only by a few negro savages, resembling the cannibals of Andaman, wretched beings with whom there could have been no intercourse, or at least no commerce. The Malays did not emigrate from Sumatra, their parent country, and settle in the Malayan peninsula, until the comparatively modern period of the year 1160, a thousand years after the time of Ptolemy, while Malacca was not founded until 1252, and every other Malay state on the Peninsula is of still more recent foundation. The term *dib*, or *diu*, appended to Java, and meaning country, or island, is pure Sanskrit, and happens not to be a word of that language *ever* used, that I am aware of, in any of the dialects of the Archipelago. It is fair, from this, to argue, that those who used the term in describing Java to the merchants of the west, were not na-

tives of Java, or of any portion of the Archipelago, but Hindus, or natives of India; and, which is the same thing, that Ptolemy's information was not obtained through the direct intercourse of Europeans with the country. If any names at all reached Europeans correctly, we cannot be surprised that these should be the names of the two principal tribes or countries. This is especially applicable to Java, the richest and most distinguished country of the Archipelago, and the principal seat of Hinduism. We have seen, that it is the only name mentioned in Chinese works; and among the Arabs, such is its reputation, that they designate the whole Archipelago and all its inhabitants by it. Whether he obtained his information from Chinese or Arabs, Java was the most important name also which reached the ears of Marco Polo. He was six months in Sumatra, without ever hearing any name for it, and, at last, following the example of other strangers, he calls it the Lesser Java, imagining it *ought* to be of smaller size than *an island* which was so much more celebrated.

The Golden Chersonesus of the ancients, it would, I imagine, be unreasonable to fix upon any particular country, when we reflect upon the ignorance which prevailed respecting all. * What

* Linschoten, a man of intelligence, and an experienced pilot, writing expressly with the view of giving us all the in-

Ptolemy has done, it seems to be no more than a rude attempt to give form and position to the countries which lie on the maritime coast between India, and China the country from which silk came. Among a mercantile people, it would naturally enough take its name from its most distinguished production, and, when the clove, nutmeg, and even pepper, were unknown, this production would un-

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formation in his power respecting Java, is at a loss, in the year 1583, seventy-two years after the Portuguese had been navigating the seas of the Archipelago, to say whether it was an island or a continent, is it not unreasonable to expect any precise information from the ancients respecting those countries, and even absurd to enter into any serious discussion concerning their knowledge (their *ignorance*, as Mr Gibbon calls it) of them? "This iland," says the writer in question, "beginneth under seven degrees on the south side, and runneth east and by south 150 miles long, (German miles,) but touching the breadth, it is not found, because, as yet, it is not discovered, nor by the inhabitants themselve well known. Some think it to be firm land, and parcell of the countrie called *Terra Incognita*, which being so, should reach from the Cape de Bona Sperança, but, as yet, it is not certainly known, and, therefore, it is accounted for an island." *Wolfe's Translation*, p. 34. We see from this description, as well as from the chart of Java, given by Linschoten, that where their business took them, the Portuguese were sufficiently well-informed, but knew nothing beyond it. With less means, and less skill, in less curious ages, what right have we to expect more curiosity and enterprise in a few straggling Hindu or Arabian merchants, or even in Greek merchants of Alexandria?

doubtedly be gold. The two great islands of Sumatra and Borneo are more remarkable for abundance of gold, not only than any countries in their vicinity, but, indeed, than any countries in Asia. There is not a tribe of savages in these islands that does not traffic in it, and it would naturally be the first commodity asked for and produced, in an intercourse with strangers. From all that has been now stated, the following inferences and conclusions may safely be drawn. In the age of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, or about the year 63, the clove and nutmeg, or the most distinguishing productions of the oriental Archipelago, were not imported into India, and, therefore, no intercourse existed at this time between the Hindus and the Indian islanders. From the year 176 to the year 180, or during the joint administration of Marcus and Commodus, the clove was imported into Egypt, and, therefore, into India. At this time, therefore, an intercourse certainly did take place. It took place even earlier, for the geographer Ptolemy, who wrote fifty years earlier, cites Malay and Javanese names of places *correctly* on Hindu authority. All this leads to this final conclusion, that the first intercourse between the Indian islands and the country of the Hindus, began between the years 63 and 180, probably about the beginning of the second century of our era. It is singular and interesting to observe how well this accords with the

traditional accounts which the Hindus themselves give us of the dispersion of the worshippers of Buddha, on their persecution by the Brahmins, in the first and second centuries of the Christian era. It would be curious to trace all the consequences of this emigration, or dispersion. It spread the worship of Buddha over the Indian islands, contributed to civilize their inhabitants, taught them the use of two of their own commodities heretofore unknown to them, and spread the use of these novel luxuries over the whole world, to all succeeding generations. The consequences of this religious quarrel of the Hindus might, indeed, be pursued much farther, for, without doubt, we must, in a great measure, ascribe to it the desire, in the European races, of possessing the commerce in spices, the discovery of the maritime route to India, that of the New World itself, and much of that civilization which pre-eminently distinguishes the modern European from every other race of men in any age or climate.

From the early period of the connection of the Hindus with the Archipelago, down to the middle of the sixth century, the only direct notice we have of this commerce is that given by Cosmas, whose work is dated in 547, but who never was in India,* and whose information respecting oriental geo-

* Vincent's *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.*

graphy is given only incidentally. We may be sure, however, that during all this time the intercourse subsisted, and was probably the only channel by which the peculiar products of the Indian islands were transmitted to the western nations. Even in later times, though not without competitors, the Hindus, or their converted descendants, conducted the same traffic, and, to this day, conduct it under the modifications which the competition of the Arabs, and both the violence and competition of Europeans, have brought about. The trade has always been chiefly conducted from the ports of Coromandel, and by the nation called *Kalinga*, or Telinga, of which the word *Chuliah*, so often in the mouths of Europeans in the Archipelago, seems another corruption. A small traffic, much inferior to the other, is conducted from the ports of Malabar. Until the genius and enterprise of the European character led the way, no direct intercourse appears to have existed with the unwarlike and unenterprising inhabitants of the rich provinces lying on the Ganges. The shipping in which the trade is carried on by the people of the Peninsula, are vessels from one hundred to two hundred tons burden, with one or two masts. Whatever was the ancient construction of these vessels, they are at present built and equipped in rude imitation of the European model. They are navigated by natives of India, generally Mahomedans, with now and

then a few Hindus. Neither this branch of foreign commerce, nor any other, is ever conducted by the navigators of the Indian islands. It had been an erroneous notion formed respecting the Hindu character, from a limited knowledge of the Hindu tribes or nations, and perhaps mostly from an experience of the people of Bengal, that they were interdicted by their religion from performing sea voyages. This error is now corrected from our knowledge that Hindus occasionally form a portion of the crews of the ships from Telinga, and that Hindu passengers come yearly in them, who sojourn for a time in the Archipelago. At Malacca, indeed, as mentioned in another part of this work, these Hindus have even colonized. The Telingas, though less robust, active, and industrious, than the Chinese, are more expert and skilful navigators. They have learned from the Arabs, who had their knowledge of the Greeks, to take the sun's altitude with the forestaff, and they use the more perfect compass of the Europeans instead of the rude imitation of it followed by the Chinese. Still the monsoons are necessary to their voyages, as well as to those of all other oriental navigators. The Indian traders quit their ports in the south-west monsoon, which blows from April to October, and return with the north-east monsoon, which prevails in the opposite half of the year. The length of the voyage depends upon the extent to

which the traders penetrate into the islands of the Archipelago, but to the nearest points, often does not exceed nine or ten days. It is usually performed with as much safety as expedition, notwithstanding the real unskilfulness of the voyagers, a fact which may teach us to moderate any prepossessions we might entertain regarding the difficulties which the early Hindus might have encountered in carrying their religion to the Indian islands, or in bringing the spices of the latter back to their own country. The monsoons have always made up, in some measure, to the orientals, for the want of that science, ingenuity, invention, and intrepidity, which have been in every age, more or less, the birth-right of Europeans.

The trade of the Indians is chiefly confined to the more western ports of the Archipelago, and they are prevented from going to the eastern ports by the competition of the Chinese, and by the European monopoly of the spice trade, a trade which probably, in other circumstances of it, often seduced them as far as the Moluccas. The commodities which they import are, besides, some of them such as are not required in the central and eastern islands. The import investments consist, besides minor articles, of salt, tobacco, blue cotton cloths, and cotton chintzes. The exports are some of the most distinguished products of the Archipelago, most of them, in all likelihood, the very same of

which the cargoes consisted seventeen centuries back, as betel-nut, damar, bees-wax, ivory, lignum-aloes, Indian frankincense, cloves, nutmegs and mace, black pepper, and tin. From the Malay states on the south-west coast of the Peninsula next to Siam, and tributary to it, a considerable number of elephants have been usually sent, which are of a race highly esteemed, and thought not to be inferior to the boasted breed of Siam itself. As the benefits of the influence of the capital and enterprise of Europeans begin to be felt in the carrying and general trade of India, it is probable that much of this particular traffic will decline, or be altogether superseded, for it may be said, in a great degree, to have long owed its existence, or continuance, to the privilege which the unlawful exclusion of Europeans confers upon it. Whether it be superseded, or otherwise, however, it ought not to be forgotten, is not the proper care of the legislator, whose duty lies solely in seeing justice done to all parties, and taking care that the natural and wholesome influence of competition be not obstructed by the impertinence of restriction, or pretended regulation.

The *Arabs* formed, in the early times of oriental commerce, the *third* link of that chain of commercial voyages by which the *ordinary* commodities of the Indian islands were transmitted to the farthest nations of the west, the *fourth* link of that

by which the *spices* were transmitted, and the *fifth* by which the *silk* of China reached the same people. It is probable, that the *fishermen* of the coasts of Arabia, from the moment they emerged from the savage state, and acquired the strength and intelligence which civilization confers, became petty traders, and, with the assistance of the monsoons, soon sailed to the rich and civilized countries on each side of them, Egypt and Hindustan, as merchants and as pirates. * To say that the Arabians, or any other people living in the latitudes of the monsoons, *discovered* these monsoons, † is but a solecism, and no better, perhaps, than gravely asserting that the people of temperate regions had discovered *their own* summer and winter. The dullest savages could not fail to observe the perpetual succession of a dry and a wet season, of an east and a west wind. The steady uniformity of these winds would inspire them with confidence, and the navigator would be tempted to make a distant voyage in one season, reckoning, with confidence, upon the facility and certainty of getting

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* "Sabea, Hadramant, and Oman, were the residence of navigators, in all ages, from the time that history begins to speak of them; and there is every reason to imagine that they were equally so before the historians acquired a knowledge of them, as they have since continued down to the present age." Vincent's *Periplus*, Vol. I. p. 61.

† Vincent's *Periplus*, p. 62.

back in time with the opposite season and wind. Hitherto we have seen that the commercial intercourse was conducted by one tribe only, by the most enterprising and civilized. In the present case, as the Hindus and maritime Arabs were perhaps nearly in the same state of civilization, in as far at least as navigation was concerned, we discover the trade conducted equally by both, and find the ships of Hindustan in the ports of Sabea or Arabia, as well as those of Arabia in the ports of India. As the Arabs, however, had always displayed a higher energy of character, it is not improbable that they conducted the largest share of this trade. In tracing the route of the Indian commerce to the west, a singular fact occurs to us, that two civilized nations of antiquity, lying in that route, the Persians and the Egyptians, took no share in it, until each mixed with a race of strangers of a higher cast of genius than themselves, and partook of their manners and character. This, it is to be presumed, arose out of the peculiarity of their situation, at once destitute of extensive sea coasts, and possessing fertile territories, with the peculiarity of civil polity which arose from those causes, and in which a dislike of maritime enterprise became naturally a prominent feature. Persia, out of the direct way, received none of the benefits of the Indian commerce, but Egypt, a thoroughfare, participated in the profits, without partaking of the dangers, of the navigation.

From the earliest accounts we possess, down to the period when the Arabs acquired, with a new religion, a new character, no material change appears to have taken place in *their* mode of conducting the Indian trade, for the invasion of their monopoly of that traffic by the Greeks of Egypt, under the Roman government, seems not to have wrought any material change. I think it by no means probable that the Arabs ever reached the country of spices, or any portion, indeed, of the Indian Archipelago, before their conversion to the Mahomedan religion. A semibarbarous people, not roused to activity and enterprise by that developement of character which nothing is capable of generating but a revolution in religious opinions, is timid in disposition, and stationary in society. Besides this, whenever an Asiatic people trade extensively in any country, they soon settle or colonize in it; because, unlike the restless and romantic Europeans, delighting in enterprise and novelty, they never quit a better country for a worse,—because, in a new country, their rank in society is always improved,—and because their manners, never very remote, soon assimilate with those of the natives. Thus, the Mahomedan Arabs settled on the west coast of India, in the Indian Archipelago, in China, even in Siam; and the Hindus and Chinese have each settled in the Archipelago. We have no proof that the Pagan

Arabs did so. In the Indian islands we have no relics of the manners, religion, or language of Pagan Arabia. Whatever is there that is Arabian is connected with the present religion. The words of their language which exist in the dialects of the converted tribes are almost all mythological, and in those of the unconverted tribes there is not a syllable at all. Connected with this subject, we may remark it as a curious and interesting fact, that every important change in the mode of conducting the commerce of India has been the result of, or has followed, a religious revolution or convulsion. The trade of the Hindus extended in no direction but towards Arabia, until a religious schism propelled their enterprise to the hitherto unknown countries which yielded spices. The Arabian navigators went no farther east than the coast of Malabar, until they acquired enthusiasm and energy from the religion of Mahomed, when they crossed the Bay of Bengal, colonized in the Indian islands, and pushed their commerce and their settlements to China. Even the last great revolution in the commerce of the East, effected by the European race, is distinctly connected with the great changes in religious as well as other opinions which characterized the commencement of the sixteenth century. In barbarous periods of society, indeed, it is through religious revolution, or change alone, that we can expect to find any

melioration produced in society. Political reformation, resulting from the mere exercise of reason, indeed, belongs only to the intelligence and refinement of an exalted state of social existence,—only perhaps to the European race and to modern Europe. In the extent and importance of the change and improvement effected in the mode of conducting the oriental commerce by each race, we have a test by which their comparative genius and character may be fairly estimated. The Indian islanders never ventured out of the Archipelago with their productions. The Hindus discovered the Indian Archipelago, and brought spices and the silk of China to their own markets. The Arabs did a great deal more. Dispensing with the *three* voyages necessary, in a ruder state of navigation, to obtain the commodities of the more distant Indian islands, and the *four* necessary to obtain those of China, they brought both by one simple effort to their own ports. What the superior genius of Europeans effected it is almost superfluous to insist upon. The six voyages of the rudest period of the Indian commerce they reduced to one, in duration and expence hardly exceeding any individual voyage of the barbarians. Of the nations thus alluded to, as we recede from the East, each has a greater difficulty to conquer, but genius and energy of character increase in a still greater proportion. From this, and many other

examples, we may learn that nothing can be more true than the converse of the proposition so frequently maintained, that civilization emanated from the East. Excluding the nations of the Chinese stamp of civilization, who have little in common with the rest of mankind, civilization and genius decrease as we go eastward. Whatever is ennobling, or bears the marks of genius and enterprise in the civilization of the Asiatic nations, may fairly be traced to the European race.*

The trade of Arabia with the East has generally been conducted from the ports on the Red Sea, and those on the ocean near it, Mocha, Jeddah, and Aden. During the reign of the Arsacidæ in Persia, it would appear that the Persians for a moment took some share in the commerce of the east from the Persian Gulf. The Arabians, im-

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* "In what way, therefore," says Smith, "has the policy of Europe contributed either to the first establishment or to the present grandeur of the colonies of America? In one way, and in one way only, it has contributed a good deal. *Magna virum Mater!* It bred and formed the men who were capable of achieving such great actions, and of laying the foundation of so great an empire; and there is no other quarter of the world of which the policy is capable of forming, or has ever actually and in fact formed, such men. The colonies owe to the policy of Europe the education and great views of their active and enterprising founders; and some of the greatest and most important of them, so far as concerns their internal government, owe to it scarce any thing else."—*Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II. p. 436.

pelled by the spirit infused into them by a new religion, and by the little portion which they had imbibed of the knowledge of the Greeks, appear, on the conquest of Egypt and Persia, to have taken a greater and more active share in the commerce of India, and to have carried it on from both Gulfs. Two centuries after this, we have the first tolerably authentic account that the Arabs had reached the Indian islands. In the year 850, at least, they traded between Oman on the Persian Gulf, and China, and were even settled in considerable numbers in the latter country. They must, of course, have passed through the Indian islands, and traded with them still earlier. The notices which the Arabian traveller and his commentator give of their trade are indeed most vague and puerile, and readily excite a suspicion that the intercourse which could supply no better could neither have been very extensive, nor conducted by persons of much intelligence. * It was not until four centu-

* The commentator confuses together the islands of the Indian and Japanese Archipelagos. By the island *Cala*, it is evident he means the principal emporium at this time of the commerce with the west, possibly the port of Batavia under the Chinese name of *Ca-la-pa*. "In this same kingdom," says he, "is the island Cala, which is the mid passage between China and the country of the Arabs. This island, they say, is fourscore leagues in circumference; and hither they bring all sorts of merchandise, wood aloes of several sorts, camphire, sandal wood, ivory, the wood called *cala*-

ries thereafter that we have reason to believe that the Arabs carried on a busy direct intercourse with the Indian islands, and settled there in numbers. Then we discover them converting the natives of the country to their religion, and trace the extension of their commerce along with it, from the year 1204, when the Achinese, 1278 when the Malays of Malacca, 1478 when the Javanese, and 1495 when the people of the spice islands, were converted. I have little doubt but the increased trade of the Arabs with the Indian islands, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, arose out of the consequences of the crusades,—which made the nations of the east and west better acquainted with each other,—enlarged the ideas of both,—gave the western nations an increased taste for the productions of the east,—and, consequently, occasioned an increased demand for them in the markets of Arabia.

We discover by their consequences *three* distinct eras of the intercourse of the Arabs with the Indian islands, each of which may naturally be traced to have sprung from their domestic prosperity. The first was in the ninth century, which is coëval with the government of the celebrated Caliphs of

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bit, ebony, red-wood, all sorts of spice, and many other things too tedious to be enumerated. At present, the commerce is carried on between this island and that of Oman." *Harris's Collection*, Vol. 1. p. 543.

Bagdat. The intercourse with the Indian islands in this period was with the Persian Gulf. On the decline of the dynasty of the Caliphs of Bagdat, we hear no more of the Arabian intercourse with the Indian islands, nor can we trace it by its consequences for three centuries and a half. Then began, in the end of the twelfth, and continued during the first half of the thirteenth, that intercourse which was stimulated by the prosperity of the Saracens, and by the events of the crusades. This naturally ceased when the empire of the Saracens or Arabs was overrun by the Tartars, under Chungez Khan and his successors, towards the middle of the twelfth century. After an interval of two centuries more, the intercourse of the Arabs again assumed an active character, and the tribes of the central, and some of those of the eastern portion of the Archipelago, were converted. This is coëval with the greatness and prosperity of the Soldans of Egypt, and of the Turks. This, in its turn, was interrupted by the well-known event of the discovery of the maritime route to India, and the establishment of the Portuguese power.

The discovery of the new route to India, with the settlement and supremacy of Europeans in the Archipelago, have long reduced the commerce of the Arabs with the latter to a trifle. At present, the direct trade is chiefly confined to a few ports of the western portion of the Archipelago, as

Achin, Palembang, Pontianak, and some of the Malay states of the peninsula. A trade is conducted, however, by the resident Arabs, more extensive and considerable from port to port. The Arab shipping are the best constructed, best navigated, and best equipped, of those of any Asiatic nation. They are entirely on the European model, many of them navigated by an European pilot, and some constructed by Europeans. Arabia, a poor country, has no commodities to exchange with the Indian islands but the genius and enterprise of its people. The Arabian shipping coming to the Archipelago usually make a trading voyage on the coast of Malabar, * from whence they bring cloths to truck with the islanders. A few dried fruits are occasionally brought, and the rest of the investment is bullion. The returns are cloves and nutmegs, black-pepper, Indian frankincense, betel-nut, rice, but, above all, in later times, sugar, the production of the united industry of the Chinese and Europeans. In a free intercourse between these countries, this will, in future, constitute the most valuable article of exchange. With the returning ships, a great many pilgrims usually embark, natives of the Indian islands of all ranks and

* It was from the inhabitants of that coast, in all probability, that they first acquired a knowledge of the navigation to the Indian islands, and thence that to China.

ages. The voyage, with the visits to Mecca and Medina, are seldom performed in less than four or five years, and are usually attended with great trouble and expence. Could the clever and prudent founder of Mahomedanism have ever contemplated the spread of his religion beyond the confines of Arabia, he would not have been so indiscreet as to have made a visit to Mecca an imperative precept of it. He had certainly never heard the name of a single island out of the hundreds which compose the country of the distant nations who now put themselves to such peril and inconvenience in obedience to his wanton mandate.

CHAPTER III.

COMMERCE WITH EUROPEAN NATIONS.

Ancient intercourse.—Trade of the Portuguese, and Principles on which conducted.—Trade of the Dutch and English.—Origin of their monopolies.—Principles on which the monopoly companies acted in their intercourse with the natives.—Examples of their misconduct in their intercourse with the natives.—Era of establishing the close monopoly.—Beneficial effects of free trade exemplified in that of the Americans.—Profits and extent of the monopoly trade.—Suggestions for the future conduct of the trade with the Indian Islands.

THE productions of the Archipelago which the Arabs conveyed to the ports of the Red Sea were first distributed among the nations inhabiting the coasts of the Mediterranean, the only civilized inhabitants of ancient Europe, by the Tyrians. In an after age, the Greeks of Egypt, in accordance with the superior enterprise of the European race, brought these commodities to the Red Sea, and also spread them among the European nations. In still later ages, they made their way by the double channel of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, and by the

necessary land journeys connected with them, and were now disseminated through Europe by the Venetians and Genoese, aided by the free and commercial republics of the Low Countries, who conveyed them into the remotest corners of the European world. Down to the close of the fifteenth century, the consumers of Europe were ignorant of the name and situation of the countries which produced the commodities on which they set so high a value. * The great discovery of Vasco Di Gama, in 1498, changed the commercial history of the world, which had remained nearly stationary for three thousand years; and fourteen years thereafter the Portuguese obtained the first cargo of spices on the spot where they grew.

The search for the spiceries of the East, as is well known, and as has been already mentioned in the course of this work, gave rise to the two greatest events in the history of our species, the discove-

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* "Navigation, perfected as it is at the present, now opens all the maritime regions of the world to the knowledge of mankind; but, in the early ages, personal intercourse was impracticable, the communication by sea was unexplored, and travelling by land was precluded by insecurity. The native commodities of one climate passed into another by intermediate agents, who were interested in little beyond the profits of the transit; and nations in a different hemisphere were known respectively, not by their history but their produce."—*Vincent's Periplus*, Vol. I. p. 1.

ry of a new world and that of the maritime route to India, which last, in effect, laid open another new world, richer and more interesting than America. The delusion respecting the value of spices bears some resemblance to that which has prevailed respecting gold. Elegant and costly aromatics, for which men expressed so universal a taste, that, at a time when no other luxuries were in request, they were purchased at any price,—which necessarily gave rise to a degree of industry and wealth in those engaged in the distribution of them, and from which the sovereigns through whose territories they passed derived a revenue,—great at least for such rude times, were, by a natural prejudice, considered intrinsically valuable in themselves. That this erroneous opinion should be entertained in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is sufficiently natural, but that such a chimera should continue to haunt the imaginations of the politicians of the present age, and be acted upon by one of the most polished nations of Europe, in the country which gave birth to the science of political economy, is strange enough; and had we not many other examples of the unwillingness of men to redress most flagrant abuses of a similar character, might be thought unaccountable.

The Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English, are the three European nations whose conduct has chiefly influenced the commercial destinies of the

nations of the Indian Archipelago; and a sketch of the policy which they have pursued will be necessary towards a proper understanding of the subject of this chapter. As the Portuguese entered upon the field of Indian commerce a whole century earlier than the European nations who followed them, they necessarily began in a much ruder and less improved age than these, at a time when there was less disposable capital in the country, and when commercial transactions were necessarily less extensive. It was, besides, rather the spirit of the sovereign than the genius of the society over which he presided, at no time commercial, that led to the Portuguese discoveries, and to their commerce with the Indies. These circumstances ought to be considered in forming our judgment of the early Indian trade of Portugal. It was, we may readily believe, rather the revenue of the state or sovereign than the disposable capital of the nation, which was employed in setting the Indian trade in motion. Neither the merchants of Portugal, nor indeed of any other part of Europe, except, perhaps, those of the commercial republics of Italy and the Low Countries, had, at the time, a navy capable of conducting a trade to India; so that, in short, if the sovereign had not undertaken it, the trade, it may be said, could not have existed at all. From these circumstances, the despotic nature of the Portuguese government,

and the necessity of combining in one a military and commercial navy, the trade, of necessity, was wholly conducted by the king. The ships were usually of great size, often of fifteen or sixteen hundred tons burthen, having crews, including the soldiers, of five and six hundred men. The whole crew, from the commander to the lowest sailor, had regular pay; and, besides his pay, an allowance of tonnage, according to his rank. The goods belonging to the crew were, besides, free of duties; and the exclusive monopoly of the king extended only to the principal articles, as cinnamon, black-pepper, and the precious spices. This regulation must have occasioned a considerable competition in the market. In India, conquest and religious conversion were the primary objects of the Portuguese, and commerce but a secondary one. Colonization was unrestricted, and no obstacle opposed to it but the climate and the hostility of the natives. The trade in India was perfectly unshackled, and the Portuguese entering into it with avidity, did not feel the want of a distant commerce to Europe, for which their funds were less adequate.

The Portuguese never attempted, like their successors, to limit or regulate the growth of any of the favourite articles of commerce. It happened, therefore, from the degree of freedom which prevailed, that their commercial establishments,

notwithstanding the vices and violence of their administration, prospered exceedingly. Malacca, famed as a commercial emporium under its native sovereigns, lost none of its reputation under the Portuguese. An active and unlimited intercourse existed between the Indian islands and China, and between them and Japan, of a beneficial nature unknown to their successors. Their reign in the Archipelago, which barely lasted a century, has now been virtually suppressed for two; yet more monuments of their arts, their religion, and their language, exist in the country than of those who succeeded them, whose authority has been twice as long established, and who are at this moment in the actual exercise of it.

The benefits of the Portuguese government and commerce, merely the result of the unfettered influence of European manners and institutions, and by no means arising out of any scheme of policy originating in the wisdom of the government, was confined to the Indies. Europe gained no advantage from the discovery of the maritime route to the Indies. By their wars in the Moluccas the production of spices was diminished, the ancient carriers of the trade were plundered, and the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, the avenues by which the commodities of India reached Europe, were either seized or blockaded by them. The consequence of all this was, that the commodities of India were

sold dearer than before the discovery of the new route. The industry of Europe received no new impulse, for no new market was created for her commodities.

Europe had advanced a whole century in civilization when the Dutch and English embarked in the commerce of the Indies. Commerce and navigation had, at this time, made considerable advances among both, but particularly among the first. It was with the wealth of individuals, therefore, and not with the revenue of the state, as with the Portuguese, that they engaged in it. Granting monopolies to particular branches of distant commerce, with the view of promoting them, was the favourite policy of the age, perhaps, indeed, the natural result of such rude times, when there existed little disposable capital, and when men must have been induced to enter upon such remote adventures as the commerce of the Indies, rather from a spirit of gambling than with views of fair trade. This opinion of the nature of the early adventures to India is sufficiently certified by the list of the subscribers to some of the early voyages. In the first English voyage the whole subscribers were 237, of whom 212 were for sums under L.300. In the second joint-stock company of the English, the whole subscribers amounted to 954, of whom 338 only were merchants. The rest were mere gamblers, entering upon a lottery,

as sufficiently appears by their titles and designations. They consisted of "dukes and earls, knights, judges, the king's council, privy-counsellors, countesses, and ladies, doctors of divinity and physic, widows, and virgins!" When the nations of the north of Europe began to adventure in the India trade, no military navy existed to protect their distant adventurers from the hostility of European and native enemies, and of necessity their fleets must have combined military and commercial objects. In India factories were to be established, and forts constructed, for the security of trade. This the legitimate government of the state wanted ability or inclination to do; and the only remedy was, to invest the companies with a portion of sovereign authority. This explains the true origin of the monopolies granted of the India trade. The two most commercial nations of Europe set the example, and were humbly imitated by the rest. How institutions, having their origin in the barbarism of the early part of the seventeenth century, have been prolonged to more enlightened ages, it is not difficult to explain. The public, excluded from an intercourse with India, were necessarily denied the means of obtaining the requisite knowledge respecting its trade and resources. The only knowledge that reached them was contained in the perverted facts brought forward by the monopolists themselves in defence

of the abuses which were the very source of their power and privileges. The possession of political power and patronage made them cling to these at all hazards, and many honourable men have pertinaciously defended a system of malversation, which they believed to be right, because it was their interest to think it so. Their possession of patronage naturally connected the monopoly companies with the respective governments where they existed; and thus, but for the convulsions which have agitated the European world for the last forty years, the great political changes favourable to freedom, which have been the result of the diffusion of useful knowledge, and the force of public opinion, the abuses which for three centuries have excluded the two most wealthy and populous quarters of the globe from all useful connection with each other, might have long continued, or been perpetuated.

When the Dutch and English first appeared in the East Indies, they appeared in the simple character of traders, committing occasional acts of piracy, but, upon the whole, maintaining a tolerably fair reputation with the natives, who contrasted their peaceful demeanour, and still more peaceful professions, with the violence and persecution of the Portuguese and Spaniards. In a very few years, and as soon as they had superseded their European rivals, they lost this reputation, and

entered upon the system of coercion and virtual spoliation, which continued ever after to mark their progress. Appearing as armed traders, they did not fail to use the power which they had in their hands to possess themselves, on their own terms, of the produce or property of the native states with which they traded. The commercial factories which they held within the territories of the native states, they converted into forts to overawe the native governments. The treaties which they entered into with these governments had for their object to exclude all rivalry or competition, to obtain the staple products of industry at their own prices, and to possess the exclusive monopoly of the native market for their own imagined advantage. Most of these treaties were either violently or surreptitiously obtained; but every attempt on the part of the natives to evade the flagrant injustice, as well as absurdity, which an adherence to them implied, was construed by the traders of Europe exercising sovereign authority as a *perfidious* violation of *their rights*, and, accordingly, punished to the utmost of their power. This gave rise to the long train of anarchy and war which I have sketched in the historical part of this work. In the struggle which ensued, the independence of most of the natives of the Archipelago was subverted, and their commerce and industry subjected

to the will of the monopolists. It was necessary, on the success of these political measures, to have recourse to new methods to obtain the productions which had brought the traders of Europe to India. The country, depopulated and exhausted by wars, and the incentives to industry and production being removed, would no longer spontaneously afford them. The resource was to convert the population of each particular country into predial slaves, and to compel them, by arbitrary edicts, to cultivate the most favoured products of their soil, and to deliver these exclusively to the monopolists, at such prices as the latter might be pleased to grant. It was on this principle, equally iniquitous and unprofitable, that the English have obtained their supplies of pepper, and the Dutch their pepper, their coffee, their cloves, and nutmegs. In proportion as each of these articles, from their nature, could be subjected to the severity of the monopoly regulations, they became injurious to the growers and useless to the monopolists.

This system of fraud and rapacity naturally brought upon the European monopoly companies the aversion and distrust of the native powers, which were aggravated by the odious picture of rancorous hatred, originating in the mean and contemptible spirit of commercial jealousy, which they displayed towards each other. The English traduced the Dutch,—the Dutch the

English; and both vilified the Spaniards and Portuguese, while they committed acts of piracy and plunder upon the Asiatic traders, who had the temerity to venture upon a competition with them. All the nations of the Archipelago, or those Asiatic nations having an intercourse with it, whose governments had vigour enough to resist their encroachments, either expelled them from their country, and refused to hold any intercourse with persons so little worthy of confidence, or placed that intercourse under the severest limitations. It will be a matter of curiosity, as well as instruction, to quote a few examples of the conduct pursued by the monopoly companies towards the native powers, and of the measures taken by the latter in consequence. Within fifteen years of their first appearance in the seas of the Archipelago, the English had established factories at Patani in the Peninsula, at Achin, Ticao, and Jambi in Sumatra, at Bantam and Jacatra in Java, at Succadana and Banjarmassin in Borneo, in the Banda isles, at Macassar in Celebes, in Siam, and in Japan. At all these, by their own recorded acknowledgment, the company was carrying on a gainful trade, of which they furnish us with the particulars. In after periods they formed establishments at Queda, Ligore, and Jehore, in the Peninsula, at Passumman, Sillebar, and Bencoolen, in Sumatra, at Japara in Java, at Balambangan in Borneo, at Camboja, at

Cochin-China, at Pulo Condore, at Formosa, and in China at Chusan, Amoy, and Macao. From a few of these they were expelled by the rivalry of the Dutch, but from the greater number directly by the natives, and solely on account of their misdemeanour and arrogance, and the utter incompatibility of their claims with the rights and independence of those natives, who had hospitably received them. One of the most flagrant examples of their misconduct was displayed at Banjarmassin, in Borneo, in the year 1706. Their settlement at Pulo Condore had just been cut off by their own native soldiers, at the instigation of the king of Cochin-China, naturally impatient of their neighbourhood, when they formed one at Banjarmassin. Captain Hamilton gives the following account of the causes and circumstances of their being driven out of the latter: "Their factory was not half finished before they began to domineer over the natives, who past in their boats up and down the river, which so provoked the king, that he swore revenge, and accordingly gathered an army, and shipped it on large *praws*, to execute his rage on the factory and shipping that lay in the river. The company had two ships, and there were two others that belonged to private merchants, and I was pretty deeply concerned in one of them. The factory receiving advice of the king's design, and the preparations he had made, left their factory

and went on board their shipping, thinking themselves more secure on board than ashore. When all things were in a readiness, the army came in the night with above 100 *prawes*, and no less than 3000 desperate fellows. Some landed and burnt the factory and fortifications, while others attacked the ships, which were prepared to receive them." He continues by observing, that "the two great ships, though in danger, beat off the enemy with small loss, but the little ships were burnt, with most of their men;" and, farther, "but the English were forced to be gone from their settlement. The king thought his revenge had gone far enough in driving them from their settlement, and, finding the loss of the English trade affected his revenue, he let all English who traded to Jehore, and other circumjacent countries, know that he would still continue a *free* trade with the English on the old footing, but would never suffer them, nor any other nation, to build forts in his country." * The sequel of this transaction, with its consequences, are given on a still more authentic authority than Hamilton's. The company, with the view of restoring their commerce and factory, sent, in the year 1714, Captain Daniel Beeckman, one of their own commanders, a gentleman of great integrity, discretion, and ability. The reception he met with

* New Account of the East Indies, Vol. II. p. 145.

points out at once the odium in which the Company was held, the jealousy of the people of Borneo of all political interference, and their desire for a free trade, especially with the inhabitants of this country. The re-establishment of the factory was found utterly impracticable; but the two ships under the orders of Captain Beeckman succeeded in obtaining complete cargoes by the stratagem of the parties *feigning themselves to be private traders unconnected with the Company*. The success in this respect appears to have been principally owing to the extraordinary address of Captain Beeckman, and his most conciliatory conduct towards the natives. "After," says he, "we had cast anchor, we espied a small *praw* or boat under the shore; we sent, in a very civil manner, to the persons that were in it, and entreated them to come on board. We lay then with our English colours flying, at which they were much surprised, knowing how severely they had used our countrymen when last among them. However, partly through fear, and partly through our kind invitation, they came on board. They were very poor-looked creatures, that had been at *Tomborneo*, and had been returning to *Tatas*. We expressed all the civility imaginable towards them, gave them some small presents, and desired they would acquaint their king or grandees in the country, that there were two

English ships come to buy pepper of them; that we were not come to quarrel, but to trade peaceably, and would pay them very honestly, and comply with all reasonable demands, according to what should be hereafter agreed on. They inquired whether we were Company's ships, to which we did not readily answer them; but before we did, they proceeded and said, That if we were, they, as friends, would advise us to depart the port forthwith, because their Sultan and Oran-Cays, or great men, would by no means have any dealings with us. The next day came on board of us a boat, with one *Cay Raden, Tacka,* and *Cay Chitra Uday,* being messengers from the king. We received them as civilly as possible. The first thing they inquired was, whether we were Company's ships, or separate traders; that if the former, we need not wait for an answer, and that it would be our best ways to be gone; desiring earnestly, that what answer we should return them might be sincere, for that whatever we said to them should be told the Sultan. Finding no other method to introduce ourselves, we were forced to *assure them that we were private traders,* and came thither on our own account to buy pepper. This we did, believing we might in time have a better opportunity of making our *honourable masters* known, and of excusing the heavy crimes laid on their former servants, whose ill conduct had been the cause of the fac-

tory's being destroyed. They asked us why we came thither rather than to any other place, since our countrymen had so grossly abused them." * The king of Banjarmassin, in one of his conferences with Captain Beeckman, gave him a narrative of the conduct on the part of the Company which led to the destruction of their establishment, which the honest narrator gives in plain and unequivocal language. As it affords an epitome of the conduct which we must always expect in the same situation when men's interests and duties are at complete variance with each other, I shall not scruple to copy it. "He also inquired whether we were Company ships, or separate traders; and being answered the latter, he began to lay heavy complaints on our countrymen, telling us how that, at their first arrival, they came like us, and contracted with him in the same manner, obliging themselves to build no forts, nor make soldiers; but that, under pretext of building a warehouse, they mounted guns and insulted him, and his subjects, in a most base manner; that he bore it patiently for a great while, till several of his subjects were beaten, wounded, and some killed by them, as they passed by in their boats, on their lawful occasions; that they forced from them such duties and customs as belonged only to him, and acted very contrary to reason or honesty in all their pro-

* *Voyage to Borneo*, p. 47, et seq.

ceedings. "All this," says he, "I bore with great patience." Then he told us with very great concern, how they fired several of their great shot at the queen-mother, which frightened her so, that ever since she continued distracted, and that they would have taken her prisoner, for what reason he could not imagine. "This," says he, "I had not patience to bear." He likewise told us of one Captain Cockburn, and some others, whose names I have forgotten, who were taken prisoners, and put to death, and the manner of their suffering. "But," continues he, "this is not at present our affair."*

* *Voyage to Borneo*, p. 74.—Captain Beeckman's own observations on this subject, and the candid account he renders of the judicious measures he pursued, are so apposite, that I cannot refrain from quoting them, and venturing to offer his example as a model of the policy which ought, in all parallel cases, to be followed with the natives of this country. "During our stay here," (at Banjarmassin) says he, "we had great plenty of fish, fowl, potatoes, yams, cucumbers, deer, goats' flesh, &c. brought to our door every morning early, in small boats, by women, of whom we bought what we wanted, and that at a very reasonable rate. This was they owned the greatest opportunity they ever knew of getting so much money in so short a time; for, when the English factory was there before, there was always such enmity and inveterate hatred between them, that the natives declared they never carried to them the tenth part of what they did us, being willing to have as little to do with them as possible. It is most certain they had a great hatred against all that belonged to that factory, and even the whole English nation, for their sake, which made us meet with more difficulty than

There is no place in which the different European companies were so anxious to make monopolies, and where they were so well resisted, as at Achin, long the principal commercial state of the Archipelago, but the trade of which was at last ruined by the naval superiority of the Dutch, and the destruction of the commerce of every place that was wont to trade with it, on the final *perfecting* of the monopoly system. Commodore Beaulieu, one of the most sensible and intelligent persons that ever visited the Archipelago, gives us an account of the animosity of the European nations against each other, and their machinations against the natives, which it is impossible to read without disgust. The French had no sooner made

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ordinary. It was an imprudent thing of those gentlemen to have given them occasion of having so barbarous a notion of the principles and behaviour of all their countrymen. It is true we took all the pains imaginable, by an honest, civil, complaisant way of behaviour and dealing, to remove this great prejudice out of their minds, though I must own we found it a pretty hard task, they being so prepossessed with an opinion of our baseness and barbarity. I believe, indeed, that the great confidence we put in them did contribute not a little to make them have a greater value for us than for other strangers. They are certainly the most peaceable people in the world to one another, quarrelling seldom or never among themselves, and avoiding above all things any occasion of giving an affront, because, when once it is given, it is never to be forgot."—Beeckman's *Voyage to Borneo*, p. 101.

their appearance than they were attacked by the Dutch. Beaulieu was informed, "That the Dutch had represented to the governor and inhabitants of that place, (Tikao in Sumatra,) that the French were robbers, and meant only to observe the landing place in order to sack them; that they would not assist our two commissaries any manner of way, whether in health or sickness, nor give the least relief to any of our men, bating some few sailors that they stood in need of; and that the English had served our men to the utmost of their power." He added, "That the governor was very sensible of the malice of the Dutch, who meant only to engross the Indies to themselves, and had but lately abused the king of *Jacatra*, and usurped his territories; for which reason the king of Achin thought fit to discharge them from Ticow." *

The same writer affords, in the following anecdote, a striking picture of the rancorous enmity and illiberality of the different European nations in India towards each other at this period. "On the 1st of February," says he, "I went ashore again, and, by the way, met some Portuguese, whom the king of Achin had laid in irons, and who told me that the Dutch and English had a design to poison me. I told them I did not believe the English would do me any harm; however, I would be on my guard. They replied,

* Beaulieu's Voyage in Harris, Vol. I. p. 728.

that, if I went to dine with the English captain that day, I would never return; and very affectionately begged me to avoid it, because they had no hopes of being delivered from their captivity but through my means. But, after all, pursuant to my promise, I went and dined with the English captain, Mr Roberts, who treated me very kindly and handsomely, and gave me nothing to eat or drink but what he and the rest of the company took part of." * In an audience which the French commander had with the Achinese monarch, in which he informed him of his opinion of the Dutch and English, and what he had done to defeat their avarice, "This done," says the voyager, "the king informed me by the Shahandar, that I was both welcome and safe in his territories; that, as to the business of trade, the Dutch and English used heretofore to have pepper in his country at an easy rate, but now that they had shewn such flaming ingratitude, in making war upon the king of Bantam, who had formerly vouchsafed them a kind reception, he had thereupon caused all the pepper plants to be cut down for fear hereafter they should prove the occasion of trouble; that, by this means, the price of pepper was raised to 64 reals the bahar; and that, even at that price, he did not much care to let them have it, knowing

* Beaulieu in Harris's *Collection*, Vol. I. p. 730.

them to be an ill sort of people, that would rob and pillage, and do any thing, in order to engross the trade of the Indies to themselves." *

But, three and twenty years after, the Dutch, with the assistance of the Achinese, conquered Malacca, they sent a powerful fleet against their ally, "to bring her to *reason*," by which they meant to subject her to the servitude of their commercial restrictions. In 1675, they renewed their attempts upon her independence, and blockaded her ports. † The English, in 1684, on their expulsion from Bantam by the influence of the Dutch, tried their fortune in the same way, and sent a mission from Madras, the modest object of which was to request permission to erect a fortification, or, in other words, to raise an independent authority within the kingdom. "The purport of the embassy," says Mr Marsden, "was to obtain liberty to erect a fortification in her territory, which she (the queen) peremptorily refused, being contrary to the established rules of the kingdom; add-

* Harris, Vol. I. p. 731.

† "About the year 1675, the Dutch made war on her, (the queen of Achin,) because she would not permit them to settle a factory at Achin, or rather to make her their vassal. They shut up the port of Achin by their shipping, and straitened the town for want of provisions and other necessaries," &c. Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. II. p. 100.

ing, that, if the governor of Madras would fill her palace with gold, she could not permit him to build with brick either fort or house. To have a factory of timber and plank was the utmost indulgence that could be allowed; and on that footing, the return of the English, who had not traded there for many years, should be welcomed with great friendship." * The queen of Achin appears to have been not only a better politician, but better skilled in the true interests of commerce, than the East India Company and their governor. All European merchants, who laid claim to no political authority, were welcome in her country. Dampier, who was there, expressly tells us, "the English merchants are welcome here, and I have heard that they do not pay so much custom as other nations. The Dutch *free-men* may trade hither, but the Company's servants are denied that privilege." †

As the Dutch had most power, they pursued the phantom of commercial monopoly in regard to the native states to the greatest length, and became, of course, the most signal victims of the delusion. There was hardly a state in the Archipelago, or its neighbourhood, that escaped their experiments. The artifices pursued by them to

* *History of Sumatra*, p. 449.

† Dampier's *Voyages*, Vol. II. p. 135.

secure the monopoly of trade at places too inconsiderable to be settled as conquests is well described by Dampier from his own personal observation. "For where," says he, "there is any trade to be had, yet not sufficient to maintain a factory, or where there may not be a convenient place to build a fort, so as to secure the whole trade to themselves, they send their guard-ships, which, lying at the mouth of the rivers, deter strangers from coming thither, and keep the petty princes in awe of them. They commonly make a shew as if they did this out of kindness to these people, yet most of them know otherwise, but dare not openly resent it. This probably causes so many petty robberies and piracies as are committed by the Malayans on this coast. The *Malayans*, who inhabit both sides of the straits of *Malacca*, are in general a bold people; and yet I do not find any of them addicted to robbery, but only the pilfering poorer sort, and even these severely punished among the trading *Malayans*, who have trade and property. But being thus provoked by the Dutch, and hindered of a free trade by their guard-ships, it is probable they, therefore, commit piracies themselves, or connive at, or encourage those who do; so that the pirates who lurk on this coast seem to do it as much to revenge themselves on the Dutch for restraining their trade, as to gain this way what

they cannot obtain in the way of traffic." * Conduct of the nature here related brought the European character into the greatest discredit with all the natives of the Archipelago, and the piratical character which we have attempted to fix upon them, might be most truly retaliated upon us. The petty establishments supported by the Dutch to maintain their compulsory regulations, lived, in the midst of a hostile population, in a state of the utmost terror, alarm, and degradation, never counting themselves for a moment secure but in their forts or ships. †

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* Vol. II. p. 164.

† Dampier gives a very ludicrous picture of the condition of the Dutch garrison of *Pulo Dinding*, lying off the coast of the Malay state of Perah, and one of the establishments in question. He is describing an entertainment given to his commander and lady, by the Dutch governor. "But to return to the governor, he, to retaliate the captain's and Mr Richards's kindness, sent a boat a-fishing, to get some better entertainment for his guests than the fort yielded at present. About four or five o'clock the boat returned with a good dish of fish. These were immediately dressed for supper, and the boat was sent out again to get more for Mr Richards and his lady to carry aboard with them. In the mean time the food was brought into the dining-room, and placed on the table. The dishes and plates were of silver, and there was a silver punch-bowl full of liquor. The governor, his guests, and some of his officers, were seated, but just as they began to fall to, one of the soldiers cried out,

The English, driven first from Jacatra, and then from Bantam, and refused the liberty of *building*

Malayans, and spoiled the entertainment; for immediately the governor, without speaking one word, leaped out of one of the windows, to get as soon as he could to the fort. His officers followed, and all the servants that attended were soon in motion. Every one of them took the nearest way, some out of the windows, others out of the doors, leaving the three guests by themselves, who soon followed with all the haste they could make, without knowing the meaning of this sudden consternation of the governor and his people. But by that time the captain, and Mr Richards and his wife, were got to the fort; the governor, who was arrived before, stood at the door to receive them. As soon as they were entered, the door was shut, all the soldiers and servants being within already; nor was any man suffered to fetch away the victuals, or any of the plate: but they fired several guns to give notice to the Malayans that they were ready for them; but none of them came on. For this uproar was occasioned by a Malayan canoe full of armed men that lay skulking under the island, close by the shore; and when the Dutch boat went out the second time to fish, the Malayans set on them suddenly and unexpected, with their cressets and lances, and killing one or two, the rest leaped overboard, and got away, for they were close by the shore; and they having no arms, were not able to have made any resistance. It was about a mile from the fort, and being landed, every one of them made what haste he could to the fort, and the first that arrived was he who cried in that manner, and frighted the governor from supper. Our boat was at this time ashore for water, and was filling it in a small brook by the banquetting-house. I know not whether our boat's crew took notice of the alarm, but the Dutch called to

forts in Achin, were invited to Bencoolen and other adjacent parts by the natives, with the view of averting, what these apprehended a still greater evil, the domination of the Dutch. It by no means appears that the East India Company's conduct was such as to justify the confidence thus placed in them. The illustrious voyager Dampier was in the humble station of gunner of Bencoolen, in the year 1690, but five years after the first formation of the settlement, and says of it, "The fort was but sorrily governed when I was there; nor was there that care taken to keep up a fair corre-

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them, and bid them make haste aboard, which they did; and this made us keep good watch all night, having all our guns loaded and primed for service. But it rained so hard all the night, that I did not much fear being attacked by any Malayan; being informed by one of our seamen, whom we took in at Malacca, that the Malayans seldom or never make any attack when it rains. It is what I had before observed of other Indians, both East and West; and though then they might make their attacks with the greatest advantage on men armed with hand-guns, yet I never knew it practised, at which I have wondered; for it is then we most fear them, and they might then be most successful, because their arms, which are usually lances and cressets, which these Malayans had, could not be damaged by the rain, as our guns would be. But they cannot endure to be in the rain; and it was in the evening, before the rain fell, that they assaulted the Dutch boat.—Dampier's *Voyages*, Vol. II. p. 175—7.

spondence with the natives in the neighbourhood, as I think ought to be in all trading places especially. When I came thither, there were two neighbouring *rajas* in the stocks, for no other reason but because they had not brought down to the fort such a quantity of pepper as the governor had sent for. Yet these *rajas* rule in the country, and have a considerable number of subjects, who were so exasperated at these insolences, that, at I have since been informed, they came down and assaulted the fort, under the conduct of one of these *rajas.*" * †

* Dampier, Vol. II. p. 183.

† Captain Hamilton's account is certainly not more favourable. "In the year 1693, there was a great mortality in the colony, the governor and his council all died in a short time after one another; and one Mr Sowdon being the eldest factor, had his residence at Prayman, or Priaman, a subordinate factory to Bencolon, being called to the government of the colony, but not very fit for that charge, because of his intemperate drinking, it fortuned in his short reign, that four princes differed, and rather than run into acts of hostility, referred their differences to the arbitriment of the English governor, and came to the fort with their plea. Mr Sowdon soon determined their differences in favour of the two that complained; and because the others seemed dissatisfied with his determination, ordered both their heads to be struck off, which ended their disputes effectually, and made them afterwards to make up differences among themselves, without troubling the English with their contentions and impertinent quarrels, but Governor Sowdon was sent for to Fort St George, and another sent in his place less sanguine."—*New Account of the East Indies,* Vol. II. p. 114

In 1719 the misconduct of the Company's servants had completely estranged the natives of Bencoolen from them, and their pusillanimity induced them to abandon their post, to which the natives, in terror of the Dutch power, once more invited them to return.

It must not be supposed that the delusion of expecting profit to the trading companies, by restricting the commerce of the natives, and destroying the incentives to industry, the sure methods of ruining all commerce, belonged only to the earliest and rudest periods of the European connection with the Indian Islands. The principle at least has actuated the conduct of the Companies and their servants, without interruption, down to the latest times. In 1749, for example, the Dutch formed a settlement at Banjarmassin, and soon ruined it, so that for produce and population, it is no longer to be recognized for the place it was a century back. The flourishing Malayan settlements of Pontianak had been formed but a few years, when it attracted the cupidity of the Dutch, who established a factory, a fortress, and all their concomitants there, in 1778. From thence they destroyed the rival, flourishing, and independent states of Mampawa and Succadana. Pontianak itself, as usual and inevitable in such cases, fell to insignificance, until the removal of the Dutch, when free trade once

more restored it in our times. The Suloos are the only nation of the Archipelago considerable for their numbers and civilization, who have, in all ages of the European history of these islands, maintained their independence, for they have with equal spirit and success resisted the encroachments of the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the English. The latter, in the year 1773, succeeded for a moment in cajoling them, and formed an establishment at Balambangan, on the north coast of Borneo, an island belonging to them. Two years afterwards the Suloos, on an experience of the effects of this establishment, attacked the Company, and expelled them from their territories. In 1803 the settlement was renewed, but soon voluntarily abandoned. These examples, taken from a great many, are quite sufficient to prove the utter inutility in a commercial point of view, and the certain mischief in every other, of all establishments formed on the ruinous and illiberal principles hitherto acted upon by the European nations. When the failure of every new attempt, one after another, afforded fresh proof of the absurdity and injustice of the principles on which they were formed, the wonder is how, in a long period of two hundred years, they should still continue to be persevered in.

When the countries in which these monopolies were established either became impoverished by the loss of trade which they occasioned, or the ex-

pence of the establishments necessary to enforce a policy hostile to the feelings and interests of the natives of the country, became so great that it could no longer be borne, the practice of the companies was to withdraw their settlements, and either to proclaim that the natives were so treacherous that there was no dealing with them, * or that some fortuitous circumstance (with which, of course, they had nothing to do) had rendered the trade no longer worth conducting.

Of the numerous establishments formed by the Dutch, not one remained to them at the close of that period, but those of the territory of which they had actual military possession, and every one even of these considered as mercantile concerns are shewn, by their accounts, to have been losing concerns to them. To the English there remained at the close of the same period, out of their numerous settlements, but the wretched establishment at Bencoolen, by which they were yearly sinking large sums of money, and which they threatened over and over again to abandon. I do not in-

* Every man of sense who has visited the Indian islands, and dealt temperately and honestly with the natives, comes off with a favourable impression of their character, while they are slandered by the superficial and captious who had hoped to impose on their simplicity, and therefore experienced their resentment.

clude Prince of Wales Island, because it was not established on the monopoly principles. It was formed chiefly by two private merchants,* and may be looked upon as the first European settlement ever made in the Indian Archipelago on principles of true wisdom and liberality. Its rapid prosperity, as long as the views of its first founders were not encroached upon, is remarkably contrasted with the unfailing miscarriage of the visionary views of the monopolists.

If we look for a moment to the conduct of the monopoly companies in their intercourse with the great nations who are the neighbours of the Indian islanders, we shall find that their conduct was governed by the same principles. The result with these populous and powerful nations has indeed been very different, for every where with them the Europeans have either been expelled or placed under the severest restrictions, and the native states have preserved their independence. Beginning from the west, the English, soon after their first appearance in India, settled a factory at Siam, and carried on with that country a beneficial intercourse. They soon, however, in their usual way, declared it expensive and unprofitable, and withdrew it. They again re-established it; and, in 1686, on some idle pretext, removed it, and declared war against the

* James Scott and Francis Light.

king of Siam. The English traders were at this time in great favour in the country, and even admitted to situations of honour and trust under the Siamese government. The East India Company could not brook their success, and ordered them out of the country. * The French, so remarkable in Europe for their conciliatory manners towards

* Hamilton gives the following account of this transaction:

"In former times a good number of English free merchants were settled at Merjee, and drove a good trade, living under a mild and indulgent government; but the old East India Company, envying their happiness, by an arbitrary command, ordered them to leave their industry, and repair to Fort St George, to serve them, and threatened the king of Siam with a sea war, if he did not deliver those English up, or force them out of his country, and, in anno 1687, sent one Captain Weldon, in a small ship called the Curtany, to Merjee with that message. He behaved himself very insolently to the government, and killed some Siamers without any just cause. One night when Weldon was ashore, the Siamers, thinking to do themselves justice on him, got a company together, designing to seize or kill the aggressor; but Weldon, having notice of their design, made his escape on board his ship, and the Siamers missing him, though very narrowly, vented their rage and revenge on all the English they could find. The poor victims, being only guarded by their innocence, did not so much as arm themselves to withstand the fury of the enraged mob, so that seventy-six were massacred, and hardly twenty escaped on board of the Curtany; so there was the tragical consequence of one man's insolence.

strangers, have been most signally unfortunate in their intercourse with the people of Asia. In 1689 they intrigued with the celebrated Constantine Faulcon * to subvert the independence of the em-

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" Before that fatal time, the English were so beloved and favoured at the court of Siam, that they had places of trust conferred upon them, both in the civil and military branches of the government. Mr Samuel White was made shawbandaar, or custom-master, at Merjee and Tanacerin, and Captain Williams was admiral of the king's navy; but the troublesome Company, and a great revolution that happened in the state of Siam, made some repair to Fort St George, others to Bengal, and some to Atcheen." Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. II. p. 63, 64.

* Kampfer gives the following interesting account of Faulcon, which I transcribe, as it is from the hand of a master: " Faulcon was a Grecian by birth, a man of great understanding, of an agreeable aspect, and an eloquent tongue, notwithstanding he was brought up to no learning, and had passed his younger years mostly at sea among different nations, particularly the English, whose languages he had. Being in the service of the latter in the quality of cockswain, he came to *Siam* and obtained an employment at court. His natural parts, ready apprehension, and good success in affairs entrusted with him, which were first of small consequence, but, by degrees, of more moment, raised him, in the space of nine years, to the highest credit and authority. For he was put at the head of the finances of the kingdom, and had also the direction of the king's household; almost all public affairs of the most important concern were determined by his advice, and whoever had any thing to solicit was obliged to apply to him." *Hist. of Japan*, Vol. I. p. 19.

pire of Siam, failed, and were for ever expelled the kingdom. This example of the misconduct of Europeans in their intercourse with the people of Asia, and which was caused by the unprincipled ambition of Louis the XIV., is the only notable one of which the monopoly companies were not directly or indirectly the cause.

In the countries lying between Siam and China, viz. Champa, Camboja, Cochinchina, and Tonquin, there existed at one time an intercourse with European nations, which promised to be of a most beneficial nature. These countries are, without doubt, the most highly gifted of all the continent of Asia, whether we consider the fertility of their soil, the variety and utility of their vegetable and mineral productions, the number and excellence of their harbours, their fine navigable rivers, and the extent of their internal navigation, with the conveniency of their geographical position for an intercourse with other nations, yet they are, in point of useful intercourse, as little known to the great commercial nations of Europe at the present moment, as if they were situated in another planet. Down to the close of the seventeenth century, the Dutch, French, and English, maintained a busy intercourse with them, which was discontinued from the usual causes. There existed no means of getting the productions of the country from its intelligent and industrious inha-

bitants under their natural prices, or of selling foreign wares to them for more than they were worth, and without such aids the costly traffic of joint-stock companies could not be conducted.

There is no country of Asia in which the unprincipled ambition and avarice of the traders of Europe have brought them into such utter disgrace as Japan, next to China, and in some respects before it, the most civilized country of Asia —that in which Europeans were received at one time with the least reserve, and that in which the institutions and civilization of Europe had made at one time the greatest progress. By their intemperate zeal the Portuguese had indeed brought persecution and discredit upon themselves and their religion. But this state of things had in a great degree subsided for near half a century, and it was not until the Dutch East India Company had established themselves in Japan, that the Christian religion and free intercourse with Europeans were for ever interdicted through their intrigues, and even their *active* assistance. The mean compliances of the Dutch were of no use to them. From year to year their privileges were abridged, and their persons treated with new contumelies. At first the Japanese could not do without European commodities, but the intercourse gradually contracted, they learnt in time to dispense with them, and lastly almost to despise

them, a single ship load a year being in the end enough to satisfy a whole empire.

To conclude with China, it must be recollected that, although the religious intemperance of the missionaries had a large share in the exclusion of Europeans from a free intercourse with that empire, still that the trade of Europeans with this the greatest and most civilized country of Asia continued unrestricted for two centuries, and that it was not until the monopoly practices were matured that the intercourse of Europeans was placed under the present restrictions. Both the Dutch and English began their intercourse with the Chinese by committing actual hostilities against them. Notwithstanding this, in the early history of our intercourse with that country, we were freely admitted to several of its ports, to Chusan, to Tywan, to Amoy, Macao, and Canton, and it was not until the early part of the last century, on an experience of our troublesome ambition, that our commerce was confined to one port, and laid under severe restraints. A singular result of these restraints cannot escape us. In some countries, our East India Companies have succeeded in establishing their principles; from others they have been utterly excluded. Success in the one, and discomfiture in the other, have been equally fatal to their commerce. China, the only country that has had at once the courage to

receive them, and the wisdom to restrain them, is the only one with which they have been able to maintain any thing like a successful traffic. This, indeed, is one, but not the sole or principal cause of the success of the Chinese trade in the hands even of monopoly companies. The great cause is the unlooked for universality of taste in the European world for tea,—for a gentle and delightful narcotic which no country but China can afford, and which, from these qualities, has gained ground, and still continues to gain ground, in spite of all the arts by which its price is enhanced to the consumer. There is no other production of the East that possesses the same commercial qualities. It continues to gain ground, notwithstanding its exorbitant cost, and such is the passion for it, that the consumer gladly pays a tax for the use of it, to support that monopoly which is against himself. The perpetual fear which the monopoly companies are in of losing so valuable an immunity, is the cause of a nicety of conduct on their part in their intercourse with the Chinese, which we shall in vain look for in their commercial relations with the other nations of Asia.

During the first century of the monopoly of the English, their privileges were frequently invaded, and this circumstance, as appears by comparing the results, was highly advantageous to the Indian commerce. In that disturbed period of English history,

chartered rights were but imperfectly regarded; the East India Company had as yet acquired little political weight in the state; it was not, therefore, in a condition to influence the legislature, and to hoodwink the nation; and as its privilege was too palpably at variance with natural right, no opportunity of invading it was lost sight of. It was the fate of the Indian commerce, that the establishment of civil liberty, and of the regular authority of the laws, so beneficial to every other branch of industry, should prove injurious to it alone. Before the revolution, all the charters granted to the company were granted by the king only, without the sanction of his parliament; and, on the advice of eminent lawyers, were very generally and properly disregarded. At the close of the seventeenth century, an active commerce was conducted by the persons designated by the monopolists under the cant term of *interlopers*, in every part of India, notwithstanding the violence and open hostility of the East India Company. When we read the accounts of the state of India at this period, advert to the prosperity of many of the native states, the confidence which subsisted between the European traders and the natives, and the practical knowledge which we had of the people from the Red Sea to China, we are compelled to admit, that, for 120 years, we have been not only in a stationary, but a retrograde state,

and that we owe this to the sacrifices we have made to erroneous principles.

The first effectual measure taken to suppress free trade was in 1686, in the most arbitrary moment of the reign of James the Second, when, for the first time, a ship of war was dispatched to India, bearing a royal proclamation, directing the free traders to place themselves under the control of the company, and abandon their pursuits. After the access of a Dutch prince to our throne, many sacrifices were made to the supposed interests of the Dutch. During the reign of William, however, so little were the people of England of opinion that the trade of India belonged of exclusive right to any body of men, that numerous free traders were still permitted to go out by licence, and even a second East India Company was formed. From the union of this new company with the old one in 1702, under Queen Anne, is to be dated the ruin of free trade,—the triumph of monoply principles, and, of course, the cessation, as far as Great Britain was concerned, of all useful intercourse with India,—a blank of 112 years.

From the statements now given, we are left to the alternative of admitting, that the India trade, like every other trade, can only be conducted by separate and individual enterprise. This principle is indeed more peculiarly applicable to the Indian trade than to any other, if it were not

imperative in all. A trade conducted by a joint-stock company, with civilized and powerful nations, is only liable to the objection which arises from the slovenly and expensive management which is inseparable from its nature, but one conducted by such a body, with half civilized, timid, and strange nations, is liable to a more serious one. The individual adventurer is compelled by necessity to accommodate his conduct to the habits and institutions of the people with whom he trades. If the trade be worth conducting on their terms, he perseveres in it. Armed with no power, and appearing among them for purposes purely commercial, he excites no jealousy, and in the end his intercourse being discovered to be both safe, profitable, and agreeable, it is not only tolerated, but courted. Particular acts of violence or aggression may occasionally be committed by individual traders in the earlier periods of such an intercourse; but acts of aggression are neither in the nature, nor compatible with the interests of the peaceful pursuits of commerce, and the misconduct of an individual would soon be explained and compensated for, without danger of implicating the national character, by the prudence and discretion of the greater number. It is almost needless to insist that the trading companies must, from their very nature, act on different principles. They are armed with political and arbitrary power, appear,

in short, at once in the character of traders and sovereigns, and attempt, of course, under those circumstances, to impose their own terms upon the nations with whom they hold intercourse, instead of submitting to the authority of the laws of the country. They identify their own conduct, and the success of the particular schemes on which they are bent, with the honour and interests of the nation to which they belong, while the native states naturally conclude, that the misconduct of these particular bodies is that of the whole nation. It would be strange, indeed, reasoning *a priori*, if one had not a thousand examples to bring in proof, if a combination so unnatural did not excite the distrust of the nations, and end in the expulsion of the monopolists, or the restriction of their trade, wherever they have not been able to maintain themselves by the power of the sword. Of the utter failure of the monopoly projects we have too many examples. Of the success of free trade we have one great one in the Indian commerce of the Americans. The first appearance of an Anglo-American trader in the ports of India in the year 1784 is the true era of the commencement of fair and legitimate commerce between India and the civilized nations of the west. The period of nearly three centuries which preceded that event may truly be described as a period of delusion, in which the nations of Europe, to their own loss and dis-

honour, were pursuing a mischievous phantom. During all the time of the American trade, it has never connected itself with any political concern of the natives, never embroiled itself in their quarrels; nor has any American ship ever been cut off by the rudest tribe they have dealt with. In the very vicinage of our powerful establishments, they are now pushing their enterprises in situations that we have neglected for more than a century, and, by their conciliatory conduct, retrieving that character which their progenitors had lost. Their trade, in all this time, has been progressively flourishing, and, without entering into the question of its intrinsic superiority over the trade of the former masters of the Indian commerce, is, in point of mere quantity, incomparably more extensive.

If it should be objected, that a period of thirty-six years does not afford us sufficient time to judge of the moderation of the Americans, and of the success of their mode of carrying on the Indian trade, its immeasurable advantage over the monopoly system may, at all events, be proved, when it is remembered that the Dutch and English had been little more than half this time engaged in the same trade, when they had already quarrelled with and insulted every maritime power in the Indies, invaded, conquered, and plundered those who had received them hospitably, quarrelled with and massacred one another; and, by all these means, sub-

jected their trade to expences which no legitimate profit could cover, and which they were only at first enabled to carry on from the inadequate prices they paid the natives for what they bought, with the enormous profits they exacted from their countrymen; and, lastly, by the ingenious intricacy and confusion of the accounts with which they have contrived to perplex their respective publics.

Having rendered this account of the nature and character of the commercial relations which subsisted between the European nations and the people of India, I shall take a view of the nature of their commercial connection with their own countrymen. Europe, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was not the great commercial and manufacturing community which it now is,—capable of supplying Asia with cheap commodities, suited to the taste of the latter. No raw produce of Asia—no productions of that quarter of the globe, become now necessaries of life—were in demand with the European consumer; nor, were there an effective demand for them, could the rude state of navigation, shackled by monopoly restrictions, afford to import them. The exports were trifling; and the imports consisted solely in articles of luxury, chiefly spiceries, with a few manufactured silk and cotton stuffs. This was a commerce, which, from its very nature, could never be very extensive, or become a national object. There existed no limit

to the demands of the merchant but the capacity or inclination of the consumer to purchase; and, in the course of the trade, every experiment was certainly tried upon his docility.

In the first period of the trade of Europeans to India, their profits were necessarily very large, and may generally be described as amounting to the whole difference between the expence of bringing goods to Europe by land and sea, since, as will afterwards be shewn, the principal commodities fell very little in price. In the first two voyages of the English, notwithstanding the inexperience, errors, and unskilfulness of the undertakers, they divided a profit of 95 per cent. In the third voyage they divided a profit of 234 per cent.; in the fifth voyage 211 per cent.; in the sixth voyage upwards of 121 per cent.; in the seventh voyage 218 per cent.; in the eighth voyage 211 per cent.; in the ninth voyage 160 per cent.; in the tenth voyage 148 per cent.; in the eleventh voyage 320 per cent.; and in the twelfth 133-18 per cent.

The Dutch, as they started earlier, and navigated their ships more skilfully, made probably still more profitable voyages. Even after they took the fatal step of trading on a joint stock, they are described for a moment as making a profit of 130 per cent. Although the profits now described were enormous, even for these rude times, they bore no proportion to the difference between the prices

paid for the commodities in India, and that charged to the consumer. We are enabled to form an adequate opinion of the prodigious expensiveness of the conveyance of the productions of India at that time, by shewing the balance between the first cost of these productions, and the selling prices in Europe. In the third English voyage, for example, a cargo of cloves, purchased at Amboyna for L. 2948, 15s., sold in England for L. 36,287, or at an advance of 1130 per cent. The whole profits of the voyage, notwithstanding, amounted to no more than 234 per cent.; so that, if the other articles of which the cargoes consisted were equally profitable, the charges must have amounted to the enormous sum of 896 per cent. on the homeward investment. Twenty years after the first establishment of the trade, pepper and cloves are described by the monopolists themselves as still selling at 700 per cent., mace at 800, and nutmegs at 650,—advances, however, which, as will be afterwards proved, are much underrated. Notwithstanding this, the highest profit ever realized did not exceed 320 per cent., and the profit of the whole twelve voyages averaged but 138 per cent.

The profits were soon reduced from a variety of causes,—as the trading on joint stocks, and the enhancement of charges necessarily consequent to so injudicious a system,—the fall of prices which was necessarily produced from the large importations from India, in spite of all the arts used to

keep them up,—the advance of prices in India,—first, from the competition of the different nations engaged in the trade, and, lastly, from difficulties thrown in the way of growing them by the monopoly bodies themselves,—from the hostilities committed by the different companies on each other,—and, finally, by their expensive wars with the native powers.

It is remarkable enough, that the early and only successful trade, both of the Dutch and English, was virtually a free trade. The Dutch trade, during the first six years of it, was completely free, and it was then the greatest profits were made. The English trade, although under the name of a Company, was really so too, each voyage having, for the first twelve years, been conducted and managed as a separate concern. It was then only that the India Company divided the large profits I have already stated. During the first 20 years that the Dutch traded on a joint stock, their average profits were reduced to 22½ per cent. per annum; in the next 20 it fell to 12$\frac{1}{2}$; in the third it was 19; in the fourth 19$\frac{1}{2}$; in the fifth 18; in the sixth 22; in the seventh 28; in the eighth 19; in the ninth 18; and for the last 25 years, or from 1771 to 1796, but 12$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The average profits, during the whole period of the trade, give but 19 per cent. It is evident, therefore, that the rates of profit, all along, must have been far below the regular and natural

profits of stock in the country ; and it must therefore be admitted, that the trade was a losing one, or that the national capital was diverted from its legitimate employment to the detriment of the society. From the year 1723, a regular account has been preserved of the prices of the Dutch East India Company's stock, which affords a better test of the state of the trade than the arbitrary dividends made by the directors. In the first period of ten years, the stocks were at 656 ; in the second they fell to 570 ; in the third to 470 ; in the fourth to 443 ; in the fifth to 437 ; in the sixth to 338 ; in the next thirteen years they fell to 300 and to 170 ; and for the last two years to 50, although 12½ per cent. preposterously continued still to be the dividend.

The results of the English joint-stock trade were still more disastrous, although, as their accounts were kept with less accuracy, and their concerns more mixed up with political matters, their errors are more difficult of detection. The profits of the first four voyages, on joint-stock account, averaged no more than 87½ per cent. in four years, although one ship's cargo sold at an advance of 700 per cent., so that it is evident there was a national loss incurred in the very outset. The second joint-stock company appears to have conducted a losing trade, for, after fourteen years, they were able only, with difficulty, to reimburse the original proprietors, and their balances were made over to the

third joint-stock company, at a valuation of no more than 12½ per cent. The third joint-stock company in eleven years divided a profit of 35 per cent. in all, and it is but too evident that this was a losing concern. It would be but idleness to prosecute further the results of a system of delusion by which the Company have equally deceived themselves and the public, as I think few will be hardy enough now to assert that a real profit was ever afterwards realized at all.

It is singular enough to compare the real character and extent of the Indian commerce, conducted by our ancestors, with the magnificent statements of it with which our fancy has been amused. The *splendid* commerce of the Portuguese, which is described as enriching that people, and the loss of which is said to have ruined the Venetians, amounted to less than seven ships a-year during its whole duration. From its commencement in 1497 to 1640, 143 years, the whole of the ships sent out to India amounted to no more than 980.

The results of the trade of the Dutch East India Company, considered by the monopolists to be that which was conducted with most skill, and that which proved most beneficial to the state, is not less mortifying. From 1614 to 1730, the prosperous period of the Company's affairs, the whole number of ships which arrived in Holland was but 1621, giving an average for each year

of but 14, which is by no means equal in number or tonnage to the present free trade of the Americans with the very colonies of the Dutch themselves.

The English trade hardly exhibits more flattering results. In the first twenty-one years, the successful period of the trade, the average number of ships which it employed yearly was little more than four. Of these, 12½ per cent. were captured by the Dutch, and such was the unskilfulness of the navigators, that 10½ per cent. were lost. From the year 1680 we possess actual statements of the tonnage employed by our East India Company. In the first period of twenty years, or from the year 1680 to the close of the century, when the Company had been one hundred years engaged in the trade, the whole yearly tonnage employed was, on an average, but 4590 tons. In the next twenty years it had fallen off, and was 4232 only; in the third period it was 6796; in the fourth it was 8861; in the fifth period it was 13,350; and in the period which closed the last century it was 26,300. We should fall into an egregious error if we were to ascribe the increase of shipping thus exhibited to any legitimate and beneficial increase in the commerce of the Company. It arose altogether from circumstances forced or fortuitous. The chief cause has been the accidental and unlooked-for circumstance of tea having become, in

rapid progression, an article of great consumption in this country; and it would, I imagine, be as unfair to ascribe the prosperity of the East India Company's commerce to this circumstance, as to take the extent of the monopoly of salt in Old France, or the king's monopoly of tobacco in Spain and the Americas, or their own monopoly of salt in Bengal, as just *criteria* of the prosperity of those countries. In the first period there was not a ton of tea consumed in all England. In the second the tonnage occupied by it would not exceed 160 tons. In the third period it would rise to near a thousand. In the fourth period it would amount to above 2000; in the fifth period to about 5600; and in the sixth period to 15,149. This last being deducted from the increase at the close of the last century, would leave the amount only 11,151 tons, or give an increase, in one hundred and twenty years, of only 7561 tons, after the Company had acquired an immensity of territorial possessions, with a population of sixty millions of inhabitants, from having hardly a foot of land. If we take this last circumstance especially into consideration, and make the necessary allowance, at the same time, for the prodigious increase of Europe during this period in wealth and populousness, no doubt can exist that the comparative extent of the Indian trade is greatly less than it was. What freedom of commerce is capable of effect-

ing is sufficiently shewn in the example of the great commerce conducted by the Americans, and if farther illustration be requisite, our own free trade affords it. Shackled as it is, there has been yearly employed in it, since its commencement, about sixty-one thousand tons of shipping. The whole trade of our East India Company, before it was interfered with by the former, was about forty thousand tons. The free trade is, therefore, half as extensive again as this. There ought to be deducted from the Company's trade, however, twenty thousand tons employed in the trade to China, and then the result will be, that the free trade, in less than four years, has grown to three times the extent of what the East India Company's attained in two hundred and twenty years.

Having rendered this ample account of the errors of our former policy, it is incumbent on me to offer a few suggestions respecting that which ought in future to guide us in our intercourse with the people of the Indian islands. Their condition in social improvement has been pointed out,—the commodiousness of their commercial position has been shewn,—and the rich variety of their native productions described. The commerce of these islands is not only of importance in itself, but as the highway to the greatest nations of Asia passes inevitably through them, and as they are connected with these by the strongest of all ties among nations,

their mutual wants, their usefulness to each other, and the facility of intercourse between them, European nations will be, most likely, through their means, to maintain an useful intercourse with the former, from a direct and free connection with whom they are at present excluded by insurmountable barriers. The silent and unrestrained effects of the capital and enterprise of the European nations will probably, in time, if permitted free scope, bring about this beneficial arrangement without much care on the part of a legislator, but it will not be out of place to offer such suggestions as may facilitate the way to it. With the poor, scattered, and semibarbarous nations of the Archipelago, naturally too unobservant of the principles of international law, it cannot be expected that the distant and inexperienced trader of Europe should be able to conduct directly a commerce either very extensive, secure, or agreeable. It will be necessary, both to his convenience and security, as well as to those of the native trader, that the intercourse between them should be conducted by an intermediate class in whom both can repose confidence. A colonial establishment becomes the only means of effecting this object. Innumerable islands of the vast Archipelago are still unappropriated, and to colonize them is, therefore, not only consistent with natural justice, but, in the existing state of the European world, might almost

be urged as a moral duty. In selecting fit situations for such colonies there is ample room for choice, many of the islands containing commodious harbours, and fertile lands, while they are situated in the direct route of the intercourse between the most civilized tribes of the Archipelago itself, as well as in the tracts of the navigation between the great nations of the east and west. The most civilized and commercial tribes of the Archipelago are situated towards the western part of it, and the principal avenues, as well as great thoroughfares, are also in this quarter. Perhaps the most happy situation for an European colony in this direction is the island of Banca, which has fine harbours and an extensive territory, occupied only by a few straggling mountaineers, of peaceable and inoffensive character. The strait which divides it from Sumatra is the safest and best route for the trade of all the western world, with the principal parts of the Archipelago itself, and with every country lying to the north or east of it from Siam to Japan, all of which are only conveniently accessible through it. In the navigation from the countries on the shores of the Bay of Bengal through the Straits of Malacca to the same countries it is scarcely out of the way. In a word, taking all its advantages into consideration, it may safely be predicted, that the European colony of a commercial people, formed under favourable auspices, in Banca,

would be attended with a more rapid prosperity than ever was known before in the whole history of colonization.

Situations of minor advantage may be pointed out in various places of this portion of the Archipelago. Penang is one of these; and another much superior to it is the island of Sincapoor, correctly written *Singahpura*, * lately selected, with much judgment, by Sir Stamford Raffles, and situated at the eastern entrance of the great Straits of Malacca, the second in point of importance of the grand avenues to the Archipelago. The natural advantages of this neighbourhood are such that they could not escape the natives of the country themselves in the course of ages. It was here that the first Malayan colony from Sumatra was formed; and it was here, again, that the same people fixed themselves after they were driven, by the usurpation of the Portuguese, from Malacca. An inspection of the map will suggest many other favourable positions for similar establishments in the centre and eastern extremity of the Archipelago; but, to specify any in particular, would require a knowledge of local circumstances too minute and technical for my experience or knowledge. In general, it may be said, that they ought to be

* A Sanskrit compound word, meaning "the city of the lion;" or "the warlike city."

situated in such places as the Straits of Macassar, the northern coast of Borneo, and the Country of spices. The Dutch already possess establishments in the latter, and it is only necessary to declare a free trade, establish a tolerably liberal administration, and relieve the neighbouring islands from the fetters which shackle their industry, to insure their immediate advancement to prosperity. The European establishments in Java, with the distinguished fertility of that island above all the other countries of the Archipelago, will always insure to it a pre-eminence, and render it the favourite and principal resort of the distant trader of Europe.

The situation of the countries of the Indian Archipelago is naturally so favourable to the settlement of foreigners of all descriptions, that hardly an establishment was ever formed by them that did not flourish in a remarkable degree as long as any share of prudence or good government was maintained in it. The indigenous civilization of the country, indeed, has not been formed on the sea-coasts, or through the medium of commerce, but wherever the improved agricultural nations of the interior have been moved to emigrate, and form commercial establishments on the coasts, these have been sure to be attended with success. We may quote for this the examples of ancient Malacca, a colony of the Malays of the interior of Suma-

tra, Palembang, a colony of the Javanese of the interior of Java, with Banjarmassin, a colony of the same people.

The effects of the influence of Asiatic strangers, more civilized than the natives, is exemplified wherever the Arabs, the most enterprising of all Asiatic people, have attained political influence. The remarkable prosperity of Bantam, Achin, Macassar, and Pontianak, occur to us as signal examples. To insure a large share of success in such cases, it seems that no more was necessary than the bare establishment of such a degree of regular government, however arbitrary in itself, as would insure a moderate share of security to person and property.

If such prosperity accompanied the rude institutions of Asiatic nations, what a degree of it might not be looked for under the auspices of those of Europe? From the nature of the policy pursued by the European nations, we are deprived, indeed, of any flattering examples of it; but the partial success which has attended several European establishments, amidst all the vices of their administration, will be sufficient for our purpose. Malacca, where the Portuguese traded freely, and colonized without restriction, was probably, during their dominion, though surrounded by enemies and the almost perpetual scene of warfare and anarchy, the most flourishing city which ever existed in the Archipelago. Batavia, the only set-

tlement of the Dutch where there was a semblance of free trade, became, by means of it, a great and flourishing city, while every other establishment belonging to Holland was ruined by being deprived of it. Manilla affords another example, so that we may see that the worst governments of Europe are superior to the best governments of Asia, when they only forbear from interrupting the natural effects of European institutions, and the usual course of commerce and colonization, by vain attempts at regulation. Perhaps the proudest example of the success of European establishments, formed in the Archipelago, is that of the little settlement of Penang, or Prince of Wales Island, already quoted. This is a small spot of barren soil, having a good harbour, but too far to the west, or, in other words, too remote from the most populous and productive parts of the Archipelago, and entirely out of the way of the easiest and safest avenue, the Straits of Sunda. It was found without people, yet such was its rapid prosperity, that in twenty years it contained as many thousand inhabitants, and if, in the latter period of its history, it had not been managed injudiciously, and the principles on which it was founded abandoned, its success might have gone on in the same ratio for many years.

With respect to the administration of such a colony, as now projected, a few general hints only can be given. There ought to exist the most un-

bounded freedom of commerce and settlement to persons of all nations and religions. It need hardly be insisted, that the latter implies a right of private property in the soil, so unjustly and absurdly withheld from our countrymen in India, for without it the settlers would be no better than disreputable vagrants, having no attachment to the land, nor to the government that afforded them protection. To establish, in all respects, a free government on a representative system, will be found, perhaps, impracticable with the motley population,* of which such a colony would consist. To a representative body, however, the right of imposing taxes must be left, and, if the representatives are chosen alike from all the classes of inhabitants—if the elective franchise be confined to those who, by long residence, have acquired the right of naturalization, and to persons of considerable estate, no danger from turbulence or anarchy can be apprehended. A pure and impartial administration of a code of laws suited to the state of such a colony, and adapted to the peculiar character of its varied population, will form the most important branch of its administration.

With respect to the duty of the chief magistrate,

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* At Penang, it is reckoned that there are twenty-two languages spoken, and at Batavia there are many more.

I need hardly insist upon a political maxim so well understood, as that the less he meddles in the internal details of the affairs of the colony, and the more those details are committed to the intelligence and interests of those who are chiefly concerned, the better chance there will be of their being well conducted. His principal and most important occupation will consist in maintaining the foreign relations of the colony. No control ought to be attempted over the independent governments of the neighbourhood, but a friendly and equal correspondence maintained with them. Above all things, the imposition of treaties requiring exclusive privileges, or exemption from duties, ought to be avoided. It is evident, that the greater the revenue that a native sovereign derives from his intercourse with strangers, the stronger will be his motives to protect their commerce, and encourage their resort to his country. An European merchant, trading more cheaply than an Asiatic one, ought not to grudge paying the same duties. Besides, to the bigoted nations of Asia, innovations of all kinds are odious, and of themselves quite enough to excite distrust. The most suspicious of all innovations are those which trench, or seem to trench, on the personal interests or prerogatives of the sovereign.

In such a magistrate, a thorough knowledge of the customs, usages, and institutions of the sur-

rounding natives, with a knowledge of the language principally used in their intercourse, would be indispensable. The reputation of these acquirements, with a character for justice and integrity, are sure to attach the natives of the Indian islands to a surprising degree. Persons of high rank in possession of these qualities acquire over the native mind an unbounded sway, and there is hardly any limit, indeed, to the confidence they repose in them.

A moderate impost upon external commerce, which that commerce, well protected, should certainly afford, with the sale of public lands, and an excise on objects of vicious luxury, would afford a sufficient revenue to defray the expences of government, and the charge of public works.

I shall conclude this sketch with a short enumeration of some of the benefits which would be derived from such establishments. They would naturally become great emporia. The native trader would find them the best and safest market to repair to, and the scattered productions of the Archipelago would be accumulated and stored at them in quantity for the convenience of the distant and inexperienced trader of Europe. The European voyager would find them also the best market for his goods; and the sacrifice of a large nominal profit would be compensated by the expedition with which his business would be dispatched, and by his immunity from those risks,

dangers, and delays, into which his inexperience must necessarily commit him in a direct intercourse with the natives. It is sufficiently evident, in short, that, in this manner, a more agreeable, extensive, and beneficial intercourse to all the parties concerned would be conducted, than in any other. More important and dignified objects, though perhaps more remote ones, would be gained by the presence of such colonies in the midst of a native and docile population. By means of them the arts, institutions, morals, and integrity of Europe, might in time be communicated to the natives of these distant regions, while they might contribute still earlier to give occupation to the population of those parts of the European world which are acknowledged to require new objects of employment. In the unappropriated lands of the Indian Islands, there is abundant room for the colonization of the European race; and unlike the desert Promontory of Africa, or the superior, but isolated and distant Continent of Australasia, they would find abundant objects to engage their industry. The example of the vigorous race of genuine European blood, bred in the hot plains of South America, under the very line, would seem satisfactorily to prove, that the long entertained notion that the European race undergoes, from the mere effect of climate, a physical degeneracy when transported to the native countries of the black or copper-colour-

ed races, is no better than a prejudice. The different races of men appear to preserve their distinctions wholly independent of climate. In hot countries, the first settlers feel, indeed, the inconveniences of heat, but the constitution of their descendants immediately adapts itself to the climate which they are born to inhabit. Were it otherwise, the extensive table lands and mountain tracts of the great islands, elevated at 5000 and 6000 feet above the level of the sea, would afford a temperature cold enough even for an inhabitant of northern Europe. *

After this sketch of what appears the most material and expedient method of extending the in-

* "In climates very warm, and at the same time very dry, the human species enjoys a longevity perhaps greater than what we observe in the temperate zones. This is especially the case whenever the temperature and climate are necessarily variable. The Europeans, who transport themselves at an age somewhat advanced into the equinoctial part of the Spanish colonies, attain there, for the most part, to a great and happy old age. At Vera Cruz, in the midst of the epidemical *black vomitings*, the natives, and strangers seasoned for several years to the climate, enjoy the most perfect health."—*Political Essay on New Spain*, Vol. I.—In another of his works, Baron Humboldt tells us that there are in the hot plains of America, near the equator, men of the genuine European race, who are as athletic as the peasantry of Spain, and perform all sorts of field labour in the sun without inconvenience.

tercourse between European nations, the inhabitants of the Indian Islands, and the nations in their neighbourhood, I shall furnish a general picture of the character of the commercial exchanges which must take place between them in an unrestricted intercourse. The Indian Islands present to us an immense country, more easy of access to the merchant and navigator than any other portion of the globe, owing to the tranquillity of the seas which surround them, that, like so many canals, or great navigable rivers, throw the communication open, and render it easy from one extremity to another. This great advantage peculiarly distinguishes them from the continuous territory of the Continent of Africa, from a great part of that of Asia, and from some of that of America. At the same time, as many of the islands are of vast extent, the whole region is exempt from that character of sterility to which islands of small size within the tropics are naturally liable from the absence of considerable rivers, indispensable to fertility in those climates. All the great islands contain navigable rivers, and many of them extensive inlets and bays, or fine harbours. In a commercial point of view, the immediate neighbourhood of the Indian Islands to the greatest nations of Asia is one of their most prominent characteristics. With respect to fertility of soil, they are eminent. Their mineral and animal productions are various, rich,

and extensive. They afford in luxuriance the vegetable productions common to other tropical climates, and some which are peculiarly their own, and which refuse to grow in cheapness or perfection any where else. It is, at the same time, to be remarked of these last, and it is a singular coincidence, that they have been, and still are, in more universal request among men, in every rank of social improvement above that of mere savages, than the productions of any other portion of the globe. *

Of this vast region of the earth it is but a small portion that is yet inhabited. By far the greater portion of the land, perhaps even of the good land, is still unoccupied, uncultivated, and unappropriated. There is, in fact, still room for an immense population. Among the various inhabitants of which it consists, there is a wide difference in point of industry. A few are roaming about their forests, as useless, as unproductive, and perhaps

* It is to the productions of these islands that Dr Robertson chiefly alludes, when he observes, "Some of these are deemed necessary, not only to the comfort, but to the preservation of life, and others contribute to its elegance and pleasure. They are so various as to suit the taste of mankind in every climate, and in different stages of improvement; and are in high request among the rude nations of Africa, as well as the more luxurious inhabitants of Asia." *Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 147.

more mischievous, than the beasts of prey that wander along with them; but by far the greater number have made a respectable progress in social order, tamed the useful animals, applied themselves successfully to agriculture, to fisheries, to navigation, and even to mining. The productions of industry have been, besides, increased by the labour and by the example of the crowd of foreigners who settle or sojourn among them. In such a social state, and in such a relation of the population to the land, manufacturing industry, in the sense in which it is applied in modern Europe, meaning the capacity in which a people possessed of a numerous population, a great capital, and high improvement in machinery, is placed to afford its less civilized neighbours manufactured produce in exchange for the rough produce of their soil, is, of course, out of the question. The Indian Islanders, blessed with an abundance of fertile soil, which cannot be exhausted for ages, will be for an indefinite time in a condition to supply the more civilized world with its cheap and various produce, and necessarily in a condition to pay for the manufactured necessaries or luxuries of the latter. The value and extent of the intercourse between them will increase, it is almost superfluous to insist, in the proportion in which freedom and good government will enable them to exchange their respective productions, at the smallest cost, and in

the greatest abundance,—a maxim too trite and obvious to be here dwelt upon, had it not, in all periods of our intercourse with these countries, been either notoriously neglected, or rather had it not been acted in direct opposition to.

Such is the commercial character of the country, and the people with whom the European merchant has to deal. The character of the particular commodities to be exchanged between Europe and the Indian Islands will be afterwards fully described in the chapters on the Export and Import Productions, and any remarks upon them at present will be superfluous; but some general observations on the economy and equipment of the European voyage may be of utility, and with these I shall close this chapter.

The most convenient size for a ship trading direct between India and Europe is from 400 to 450 tons burden. Ships of these dimensions are as safe sea-boats as much smaller ones, more cheaply navigated in proportion to the freight they will carry, and do not draw too much water, to load and discharge with facility at the principal ports of India. They are far safer than merchantmen of greater burden, which are liable to the serious objection, besides, of being excluded from many of the rivers of India, or at least of delivering and taking in cargoes with cheapness and facility, which is the same thing. From the begin-

ning of the free trade, to the end of 1819, there have sailed from the port of Liverpool 120 ships for various ports of India, the average burdens of which have been no more than 430 tons. The average tonnage of the American traders to China, where large ships have been supposed particularly necessary, is under 400 tons. A ship sailing from England to any port of India is well manned with a crew at the rate of seven men to 100 tons. The American traders have seldom so many as six. They are as secure either for the purpose of navigation or defence with such a complement, as if a large portion of their tonnage were crowded by a parade of military preparation, which it is not in the nature of things they should be able to use with effect against an European enemy, and which are superfluous against a native one. When the India trade has assumed a more regular form, and our seamen have acquired the necessary experience of the navigation, it is likely that the Batavia voyage out and home will not exceed 300 days, the Bombay voyage 320, and the Bengal and China voyages each 365 days, or a year. Notwithstanding the many delays occasioned by want of cargoes, and some by the voyages performed in India from port to port, the average of 96 voyages, performed from Liverpool, has not exceeded for Batavia 308 days, for Bombay 379 days, and for Calcutta 410 days. Such is the safety with which these voyages

have been performed, that, out of 97 ships, one only has been lost. As to touching at intermediate ports, the expedition with which the voyages are at present performed, and the skill with which the health of the crews is managed, renders this unnecessary. In the outward bound voyage, there is indeed no port in the direct tract. In the returning voyage St Helena is so, and the Cape of Good Hope has been considered so. It is, however, very absurd to consider the latter as a half-way station or house, as it has been called. There is no going into Table-bay, or any other of the dangerous road-steads of the Cape, (harbour it has none,) without infringing greatly upon the expedition of the voyage, and adding to its risks. No American or free trader ever goes near it, unless occasionally to supply that necessitous colony with the necessaries of life. St Helena is in the direct route home, and it may be occasionally found convenient to touch at it for a little fresh water.

The cheapness with which the Indian voyages have been performed, has verified the boldest speculations in favour of free trade. It is now considered that the freight of the most distant Indian voyage will never exceed L. 10 a ton of 50 cubic feet. They have indeed been of late a great deal lower, but that sum, it is considered, will afford the ship-owner always a reasonable profit. We may therefore reckon L. 10 a ton the legitimate freight from

this country to Bengal, and also to China, which is a voyage that does not take more time; about L. 9 to Bombay, and probably about L. 8 to Batavia, or any other port to the western extremity of the Indian Archipelago. The voyage to the more eastern portions of it, should a free trade be opened with them, will probably be as expensive as that to Bengal or to China.

It will be instructive to compare these results of the free trade with the system on which the East India Companies have conducted their commerce. In the earlier and more successful periods of their trade, they employed ships of small size like other merchants, but in the progress of the monopoly system, they increased the size of their shipping, and thus added to their expence and risk. The ordinary sizes of our East Indiamen are 800 and 1200 tons, a class of shipping which cannot, in the nature of things, be built proportionably as strong as smaller vessels, and to which the greater number of the Indian rivers are inaccessible, from the depth of water they draw.

Whenever exclusive privileges are conferred upon a trade, and the wholesome correctives of individual interest and intelligence are removed from its direction, the abuse of constructing such huge and unmanageable vessels seems almost inevitably to creep in, perhaps from pure ostentation, a passion to which the private merchant can afford to

make no sacrifices. The Portuguese went the length of building ships of 1600 tons, the enormous caracks of which so many suffered shipwreck. The Dutch went nearly as far, and the result was the same. It is probably to the same principle we are to ascribe the enormous, awkward, and barbarous junks of the Chinese Hongs or security merchants, and which are of a kind unknown to the private merchants even of that country. * It has been stated that the trade to China is conducted with peculiar advantage in ships of 1200 tons burden, from the smallness of the duties which such ships pay, compared to vessels of less size; but this argument will be found, on examination, as unsubstantial as many others which have been vaguely advanced in favour of the same principles. The duties paid in China on ships of any description are extremely trifling, and cannot weigh for a moment against more material considerations. The duties on a vessel of 1200 tons, under the designation of port-charges, *Cumshaw*, or present, &c. amount to about 27*s*. a ton, and on

* Captain Sarl's picture of a royal junk at Japan conveys a very just notion of this class of shipping. "There lay in a docke a juncke of eight hundred or a thousand tunnes of burthen, sheathed all with yron, with a guard appointed to keep her from firing and treachery. She was built in a very homely fashion, much like that which describeth Noah's Arke into us."—*Purchas*, Book III. Vol. I.

a vessel of 400 tons to about 50s. 6d. The difference on 23s. 6d. is just within a shilling of the difference between the port-charges of London and Liverpool, in favour of the latter. This, on the export or import cargo of a vessel of 400 tons, worth probably in all not less than L. 80,000, will amount to a fraction of about three-fifths per cent. The Americans, who can afford to build the cheapest blocks in the world, and who have, from the nature of their country, the greatest command of large timber, have never thought of building for their China trade vessels of 1200 tons burthen; and, as has been already stated, carry on their successful commerce, after an experience of 36 years, in ships of less than one third these dimensions.

A free trader is well manned, as stated already, with seven men to a ton; the East India Company's ships require between twelve and thirteen; and allowing for the difference of wages, are navigated for much more than double the charge. The East India Company's ships take at least 420 days to make a voyage to Bombay, and 480 to Bengal or to China. * An American trader to China usual-

* The China ships, in fact, make no more than one voyage in *two years*, for they must lie useless in the Thames while they are not in the actual performance of their voyage. An American ship will make two voyages in the same time.

ly completes her voyage in about 350 days, or 180 days less than one of the Company's ships.

The consequence of these accumulated causes of expence are enormous freights. The East India Company's regular ships have been seldom freighted, during peace, for many years, under L. 25 per ton, or 75 per cent. higher than the market rate of freights; and at the present moment are actually at about that rate, and cannot be sailed under it. In time of war, the Company's freights have very commonly been as high as L. 40. It is remarkable, that, while in the progress of improvement, the charge of the produce of every species of manufacturing industry has fallen, the expences of the East India Company's shipping have increased, as if we were relapsing into barbarism. A hundred and eighty years ago, when the interest of money in England was as high as 8 per cent. and they were harassed by the hostility of the Dutch, their own shipping cost them but L. 31 per ton. A private merchant offered them in 1640, tonnage at the rate of L. 25, and this vessel, it is singular enough, made the quickest voyage that had hitherto been known, effecting a direct passage and back again in eleven months.

An intercourse, conducted as that of the East India Company is, it is but too plain, must be conducted, not to the benefit, but to the cost of a nation. This will appear still more clearly by shewing what

the difference of freight between the legitimate rates and those of the India Company occasions in the price of some of the staple articles of commerce. The difference between the Company's freight to Bengal, or to China, which is the same thing, of L. 25, and the fair rate of the market of L. 10, is L. 15, which, on a ton of sugar, costing at an average L. 37, 11s. 3d., occasions an advance in its cost of 31½ per cent. Supposing the Company's rate of freights to Bombay to be L. 22, 10s., and the rate of free trade L. 9, the difference on a ton of cotton, or 1550 lb. costing L. 52, 10s., will occasion an advance of 22 per cent. Preserving the same proportions, the freight of the Company to Batavia will be L. 20, that of the free trader L. 8. The difference will enhance the price of a ton of pepper, or 1792 lb. costing L. 27, 10s., by 34 per cent. The free trader, therefore, can afford to sell sugar 31$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., cotton 22 per cent., and pepper 34 per cent. cheaper than the India Company. There is, in fact, not a merchant in Britain that would not be happy to risk his capital in an Indian voyage, for the chance of profits equal to the simple difference between the legitimate freight and the exorbitant one of our Indian monopoly. That difference, moreover, is uselessly dissipated,—is so much of the national capital wasted to no purpose.

The India voyage, as the greater part of it is performed within the tropics,—as it has the advantage of the trade winds, monsoons, and open seas, is, for its extent, with the exception of that across the Great Pacific Ocean, the safest in the world. Insurances are now made in the free trade for the whole voyage out and home, at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. which is an incontestible proof of it. Notwithstanding this, and that the East India Company's officers are perhaps the best practical navigators in the world, from the impossibility of combining military and commercial purposes, as attempted in our Indiamen, there have been more losses by shipwreck with them, than perhaps with any other class of merchantmen whatever. In the years 1808 and 1809, there were totally lost 9000 tons of their shipping, of which between 5000 and 6000 foundered off the Cape of Good Hope, when their whole crews perished. None of these ships were lost in the Typhoons of the China Seas. No American merchantmen were lost at the same time under the same circumstances as our Indiamen, although navigating the same seas, and in greater numbers. The Dutch, as their ships were less skilfully navigated than ours, and as, in point of construction and equipment, they were still more faulty, suffered still more severely. In the year 1723, at the very height of their power, they lost fourteen great vessels by shipwreck.

As a nursery of seamen for a military navy, the East India trade will be found to stand high. From the great length of the voyage, and the consequent certainty of employment, seamen's wages are necessarily lower in it than in any other; and there is an opportunity, therefore, of making a better selection. The same length of voyage necessarily creates a degree of skill in the common seamen, and of knowledge and intelligence in the officers and commanders, which are not to be expected in the more narrow experience of shorter adventures. This has certainly not hitherto been the result of the trade of our monopoly companies, to the degree it ought. To say that they employ two hands where one would have done the business, will certainly not be admitted by any one acquainted with the obvious principles of economical science, to be a means of furthering the national prosperity and the public resources. What would be pronounced of the judgment or public spirit of a manufacturer, who, in these days, should argue the superiority of his machinery over that of his neighbours, because it required a hundred men to work it instead of fifty? He would soon be brought to his sober senses by the competition of his countrymen, unless he could prevail upon the legislature to reward his patriotism by a patent, which would enable him to make a profitable trade of it, by charging a double price for his commodities. The argu-

ment of the monopoly companies is a precisely parallel case to this. There can exist no effectual means of creating resources for a commercial navy without a dissipation of the funds which support public industry, but such as have a tendency to extend the employment of capital in its natural channels. But the free employment of capital is sure to effect this; and, if we wanted proofs of so inevitable a result, we have it already, as far as concerns our present subject, on comparing the number of seamen employed by the East India Company and by the free trade. The 20,000 tons of shipping of the former would give employment only to 2550 men; but the 61,000 of the latter to 4270. This must be considered as conclusive.

A stranger, examining our policy in regard to our commercial intercourse with the East, would be extremely apt, at first view, and without being aware of the almost insuperable obstacles which the growth of great abuses influencing our practice and opinions, and even overawing the legislature itself, have created, to pronounce, that our great object was to embarrass it,—to confer a monopoly of it upon our poorer rivals, less capable than ourselves of conducting it,—and, in short, to proscribe it as a commerce detrimental to the national interests, and rather to be tolerated as an unavoidable nuisance than fostered as a national be-

nefit. We do not, indeed, avow these to be our express motives, but the effects are virtually the very same as if we did. While other nations are enacting laws for the direct encouragement of an Indian trade, the tendency of all ours that relate to it is to restrict it, and every step towards its enlargement seems conceded by the legislature with as much reluctance as if its patriotism was engaged in stemming the invasion of some great moral or physical evil making incursions upon the state. We are, notwithstanding this, the nation fittest of all others for engaging in the trade, and this is the moment of all others when a free intercourse with India is most necessary to us. The people naturally and necessarily fittest to undertake the most distant and difficult of all commercial enterprises, the Indian commerce, is that nation, which, by the superiority of its maritime skill, and the extent of its capital, can conduct them most cheaply, can afford to give the best prices to the people of India for their commodities, and sell them at the lowest price to the people of Europe. None of the maritime states of the Continent of Europe are at present in a condition to engage in the commerce of the Indies, and it is, indeed, making a doubtful exception in favour of Holland, probably never were in a condition to carry on any thing better than a small traffic in luxuries.

That they are not at present, at least, ripe for the Indian trade, is sufficiently evinced from the example of Holland. Although possessed of the finest colonies in India, and although her national shipping be encouraged by large protecting duties on foreign vessels, still the free traders of Britain, and the Americans, conduct almost the whole intercourse between the mother country and these colonies. In the China trade, although the teas imported into Holland by Americans pay double duties, still scarcely a ton of Dutch shipping is engaged in the Chinese trade; and Holland, as well, indeed, as almost all continental Europe, is supplied with tea, the greatest article of the commerce of India, by the Americans. I think it highly probable, indeed, that the Americans themselves, with their inadequate capital, would scarcely have adventured, or, at least, adventured to any extent, in the India trade, had not the exclusion from it of the free capital of this country acted as a powerful bounty to induce them. They are now, however, in fair possession of by far the most valuable part of it, and as they are the only people that stand any chance with us, it will be matter of instruction to institute a short comparison into our respective capacities of conducting it in a state of free trade on both sides, and in a fair and amicable competition. The block of an American ship is cheaper than that of an English vessel, at the first cost; but this is compensated by

the superior durability of an English vessel. The American ship is a faster sailer, and will make a more expeditious voyage; but this is perhaps more than compensated by the greater cargo which an English vessel will carry; for the first will take no more cargo than she is actually rated at, or what is expressed by her carpenter's measurement, but the latter about one-third more. An American merchantman, from being more easily navigated, will require no more than six hands to 100 tons; whereas an English merchantman will require an additional hand, or seven. An American ship is more cheaply provisioned, because the necessaries of life are cheaper in America than in England, and because an American is, perhaps, somewhat more abstemious than an Englishman. This is again compensated by the lower rates of wages paid to English seamen. An American able seaman receives 45s. a month; an English seaman 35s. or 22 per cent. less. In all these particulars, the advantages are pretty nearly balanced; in all other matters, the advantage is on the side of Britain. An American ship-owner cannot afford to freight his ship under L. 12 a ton to Bengal or China; an English ship makes a saving freight at L. 2 less. The British merchant trades on a capital borrowed at five per cent.; the American must pay six. It hence follows, that, if ten per cent. be a good moderate profit to the first, to

insure the same rate to the last he must have 12 per cent. The English merchant can, therefore, afford to sell his goods two per cent. cheaper than the American merchant. The American merchantman sails to India in ballast, because none of the commodities of America are suited to the India market, and, therefore, the whole weight of freight falls on the homeward investment; but the English merchantman carries out British manufactures, probably to the extent of one fourth of her tonnage, and the capitalist has in this manner the advantage of a double voyage. The advantages to be derived from combining intermediate or intercolonial voyages with the direct voyage are strongly in favour of the British trader. The ports of the east coast of America are equally open to him as to the citizens of the United States, and so are the native ports of India, while in the latter he has the advantage of knowledge and experience. These almost assure to him the colonial trade in the staples of pepper, betel-nut, and tin. The benefits of a trade from one port of British India to another, or from these to a native port, are privileges which exclusively belong to the English trader. From this cause alone he can trade colonially in the two great staples of cotton and opium. In supplying the markets of continental Europe with Indian produce, the British trader has the convenience of his proximity. The distance be-

tween the United States and India, and between Europe and the latter, are nearly the same; but the American trader, although he may bring the commodities of India direct to Europe, must cross the Atlantic instead of the Channel or the North Sea, to refit and prepare for a new voyage. From these united causes, it seems almost certain, that, had the enterprise and capital of this country fair scope like that of other nations, the Continent of Europe would not, in a few years, receive an ounce of Indian produce through America.

CHAPTER IV.

INTERCOLONIAL COMMERCE.

Colonial intercourse between Indian Islands and China.—Between Indian Islands and Japan.—Between Indian Islands and West Coast of America.—Between Indian Islands and Western Nations of Asia.

In this short chapter I shall furnish a very rapid sketch of the colonial intercourse with China,—of the Japan trade, which is purely a colonial one,—of the intercourse between the Indian Islands and the west coast of America, the celebrated galleon trade, a traffic of the same character,—and of that part of the *country* trade, as it is called, which has been commonly designated the Eastern or Malay trade. In the first period of the commerce of the monopoly companies with India, they conducted the trade from port to port as well as the direct trade. Their ships very generally touched, in the first place, at Surat, or some other port of Western India, where they laid in investments of cotton goods, suited to the markets of the Archipelago. This, indeed, constituted the most valuable branch of

trade in their outward-bound voyage. By the accounts given at this time of the capacity of different parts of the Indian Islands to purchase investments of Indian commodities, compared to the present, we must be prepared to admit the mortifying conclusion, that the wealth and commerce of those states has greatly declined since they were subjected to the control of Europeans. Two hundred years ago, our East India Company, when they had to compete in the same commodities with the Portuguese, the Dutch, and a crowd of Arabian, Persian, and Indian merchants, declare, that Bantam could take off yearly cotton goods to the extent of 60,000 rials. The *whole* imports of Bantam certainly do not at present amount to so much. They describe themselves as selling, under the same circumstances, 40,000 rials' worth at Macassar, now a port ruined by the monopoly; and in the little cluster of the Banda Isles, at present containing a population of about 2000 inhabitants, mostly slaves, they could dispose of 50,000 rials' worth. The circumstances which contributed to ruin the industry of these places have been generally described in the preceding parts of this work. The monopoly companies, from want of knowledge, and finding the impossibility of exercising the same control over the colonial trade which their influence at home with their respective legislatures enabled them to exert over the direct trade, were

soon necessitated to abandon it to their own servants, and to the few Europeans who resided in India, by sufferance, under their authority. Hence the origin of what is termed "the country trade." The first branch of it, as far as my subject is concerned, is the intercourse with China. The most valuable branch of the trade of the Portuguese was their colonial trade in India, and much of it was conducted by means of the commodities of the Indian Islands. These greatly contributed especially to the lucrative trade which they carried on between China and Japan. The Dutch, from the illiberal character of the government which they established in the Archipelago, and from the peculiar ill fortune which attended most of their efforts to open a direct intercourse with China, never established a colonial intercourse of any value and extent with that great empire. Neither have the establishments of the English been founded on such principles, or carried to such an extent, as to give rise to an intercourse of such a beneficial or useful character as the peculiar suitableness of the two countries for a commercial connection ought to have generated. Although the principal portion of the intercourse between the Dutch colonies and the Archipelago was always conducted by Chinese junks, still some traffic was also driven between Batavia and Canton in colonial Dutch vessels; and in this manner was brought much of the

tea intended ultimately for the consumption of Europe. The principal productions of the Archipelago, which are now sent to China, are of great value compared to their bulk; and the same observation holds respecting those articles of the return cargoes for which there has been hitherto an effectual demand. When, under good government, the rude productions of the Archipelago are cheaply grown and cheaply conveyed, its corn, raw cotton, and *lumber*, will be added to its present list of exportation, and, constituting the staple articles, will give occasion to a great trade, similar to that which exists between Europe and America. From the vitious principles of all the European governments established in the Archipelago, so frequently dwelt upon, no capital has ever been created applicable to such a trade. Of the effect of these principles, we require no more decided proof than in the fact that raw cotton, which, in every tropical country having a good soil, has invariably become a staple of exportation, has never done so in the Indian islands, though possessed of a soil of eminent fertility; and although having, in China, a nearer and more convenient market than can be paralleled in the case of any other tropical country. The more liberal governments established by the British, in their continental possessions, have long ago given rise to a capital there which is beneficially employed in the cotton trade to China, though these be so much more

remote. This trade, much more extensive than that between China and Great Britain itself, constitutes by far the most valuable branch of the foreign trade of China. The shipping in which it is carried on frequently touch at the ports of the Archipelago; and, in this manner, some of the productions of the latter are conveyed to China. The extensive trade of the Portuguese from Bengal, which is, in fact, conducted with British capital, protected by our laws, conveys, also, a considerable share. The East India Company's ships going to China direct, being nearly empty, are still more available; and a considerable part of the productions of the islands, or, as they are technically denominated, "Straits produce," find their way to China in the private investments of the officers.

The most considerable colonial trade carried on between the Indian islands and China at present is that from the Philippines. A number of colonial vessels, under Portuguese colours, constantly trade between Manilla and Macao, which is, in some respects, a Portuguese establishment. These supply the China market with the usual articles of the produce of the islands, and bring back supplies for the Philippines, and commodities for the more distant trade of South America.

A sketch of the *intercourse* of Europeans with *Japan* is, unfortunately, more a matter of curiosity than utility. Marco Polo mentions Japan under

the name of *Zipangu*; but it was not until the year 1543, forty-five years after their arrival in India, that the Portuguese, from the accident of one of their ships trading to China being shipwrecked on its coasts, discovered it. * During forty-three years, they made incredible progress in propagating the Christian religion, and carried on a most beneficial commerce with it. In the year 1586 commenced the first persecution of Christianity. In the year 1590, above 20,570 Christians are described as having suffered martyrdom. After some cessation the persecution was renewed in the year 1597. After this it seems to have ceased for forty years, until kindled in the year 1637, by the base and unmanly machinations of the Dutch, who took advantage of an intercepted correspondence between the Christians of Japan and their friends in Portugal to exclude their rivals from the empire. "It was then," says Kempfer, "that the empire of Japan was shut for ever both to

* "The empire of Japan," says Kempfer, "was then not yet shut up, nor the princes or petty kings thereof kept to so strict an obedience and submission to their emperor as they now are. The Japanese were at liberty to travel within their own country and abroad whenever they pleased, or were called by their business or commerce. Foreign nations could then frequent the empire in what manner they pleased, and put into what harbours they thought most expedient."—*History of Japan*, Vol. I. p. 310.

foreigners and natives. Thenceforward no foreign nation should have leave to come into the country, and none of the emperor's subjects to go abroad." Three circumstances may be stated as the causes which led to this, the most singular and surprising resolution that ever a people came to, and which the Japanese have pertinaciously abided by for 183 years. The first of these was an important change which, in the year 1585, after the Portuguese had been 42 years residing in the empire, took place in the form and character of the government itself. Before then the empire of Japan consisted of a confederation of princes, each of whom ruled within his own dominions, acknowledging the supremacy of the *Dairi*, or spiritual monarch, who executed his slender share in the government principally through the agency of the military chief of his army. This last office happened to fall into the hands of a peasant, who had raised himself by extraordinary talents to so eminent a station in a period of anarchy and turbulence. This was the celebrated *Taikosama*. He wrested the whole secular authority from the *Dairi*, and, subverting the authority of the inferior princes, made himself absolute monarch of the whole empire. It was in the prosecution of this last object that the Christians came in his way. Many of the inferior chiefs had embraced the religion of the Christians,—the priests of that worship were ambi-

tious, and the dissemination of their doctrines appeared to *Taikosama* to raise an independent and dangerous authority within the state, hostile to the views he entertained of establishing a despotic authority.

The second of the circumstances alluded to, as giving occasion to the singular policy of locking up the empire, and exterminating Christianity, was the pride, ostentation, and intemperate zeal of the Catholic priesthood, and the rapacity of the Portuguese and Spaniards of all ranks. The third circumstance which contributed to that event, and which sealed the whole, was the artifices of the Dutch to subvert the power of the Portuguese, in hopes to establish their own. In the year 1638, the last remains of the Christians of Japan, amounting to 40,000 in number, driven to despair by the persecutions they had endured, rose in arms, and threw themselves into an old fortified place near *Simabara*. Here they were besieged, and the Dutch basely lent their aid by land and water for their destruction. The place, after a tedious siege, was taken, and 37,000 Christians put to death in one day. This is a brief abstract of the history of the Portuguese connection with Japan. During this connection of near a century, they certainly carried on a great commerce with it. This was conducted chiefly between Macao in China, and Firando and Nangasaki in Japan, and consist-

ed in exchanging the woollens, wines, and curiosities of Europe, the cottons of Coromandel, the spices and drugs of the Archipelago, with the raw and wrought silks and other commodities of China, for the gold and silver of Japan, its lacquered ware, and its other curious manufactures. Kempfer states, that their annual export in gold amounted, according to the Dutch mode of reckoning, to 300 tons, which would make the enormous sum of two millions and a half Sterling. In the year 1636, after their religion was proscribed, they exported, he tells us, in silver 2350 chests, amounting to 2,350,000 tahils, which make L. 783,333 Sterling. In the following year they imported goods, and exported bullion to the value of 2,142,365 tahils, or L. 714,121½ Sterling; and in the year 1638, the same in which the Christians were massacred, and Christianity finally exterminated, their imports and exports still amounted to 1,259,023 tahils, or L. 419,674. Caron makes the amount of the Portuguese trade, one year with another, nine hundred thousand pounds Sterling, or a million and a half of ducats.

The ungenerous conduct of the Dutch towards their rivals was signally punished in the sequel. The sacrifice of their religion and honour to their avarice brought themselves and the whole European race into the utmost discredit with the Japanese, while it effected the utter ruin of their com-

merce. * That commerce was reduced, from one step to another, until it became what it now is, a mere pittance, unworthy of any consideration, except as it affords a mortifying lesson of the inevitable consequences of what the unjust and illiberal character of our commercial policy with the Eastern nations is capable of bringing about.

The active persecution against the Christians, it

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* Kempfer, with honest indignation, observes, "By this submissive readiness to assist the emperor in the execution of his designs, with regard to the final destruction of Christianity in his dominions, 'tis true, indeed, that we stood our ground so far as to maintain ourselves in the country, and to be permitted to carry on our trade, although the court had then some thoughts of a total exclusion of all foreigners whatever. But many generous and noble persons, at court and in the empire, judged quite otherwise of our conduct, and not too favourably for the credit we had thereby endeavoured to gain. It seemed to them inconsistent with reason, that the Dutch should ever be expected to be sincerely faithful to a foreign monarch, and one, too, whom they looked upon as a heathen prince, whilst they observed so much forwardness to assist him in the destruction of a people with whom they otherwise agreed in the most essential parts of their faith, as the Japanese had been informed by the Portuguese and Manilhese fathers, and to sacrifice to their own worldly interests those who follow Christ the very same way, and enter the kingdom of heaven through the same gate, expressions which I have often heard the natives make use of, when the conversation happened to turn on this subject."—Vol. I. p. 324

will be observed, had subsided between forty and fifty years, when the flame was rekindled by the artifices of the Dutch. But, for this circumstance, it seems not improbable, that Christianity would, in Japan, as it had done under the Roman Emperors, have risen superior to the persecutions it had undergone, and finally triumphed. It is impossible but the revolt of forty thousand of its subjects, instigated thereto by a foreign worship, should not, in a country long the victim of civil wars, have irritated and provoked a proud government to the utmost degree, and brought a political odium on all the followers of that worship.* The hostile spirit which actuated the government was evinced two years after the expulsion of the Portuguese, by the conduct pursued by the emperor towards certain ambassadors sent to him by the Portuguese government of Macao. In violation of the law of nations, which the Japanese had never before infringed in their intercourse with Europeans, he caused these ambassadors and

* "Many reasons," says Kempfer, "contributed to make us suspected and hated at court, and occasioned, at *last*, the fatal change we underwent at this time; but the profession we made of the Christian religion was one of the chief, the whole court being exasperated against it to the highest degree as a public nuisance, and the only cause of the ruin and destruction of so many thousands of the emperor's subjects." *Hist. of Japan*, Vol. I. p. 356.

their whole suit to be put to death, with the exception of a few mean persons, whose lives were saved to carry back the accounts to Macao, and whom he charged with a message to the governor of that place, couched in terms of barbaric pride and defiance.* The effects of this spirit were soon felt even by the Dutch themselves. Notwithstanding that the edicts against the Christian religion were in force many years before their arrival in Japan, they were received hospitably, and without reserve, and traded freely and profitably for a period of thirty years. Hardly were the Portuguese expelled, when the Dutch were placed under restrictions. The very year in which they assisted in the destruction of the Christians they were themselves ordered to demolish their factory in Firando, because it was built of stone! Three years had scarce elapsed when, in 1641, they were ordered to quit Firando, and were shut up in the

* "Notice of their arrival and imprisonment having been immediately sent to court, the emperor, contrary to the law of nations, sentenced them all to be beheaded, excepting twelve men of the lowest rank, who were to be sent back to Macao, to bring their countrymen the news of this unhappy success, along with a most proud and threatening message from the emperor, containing in substance, that, should the king of Portugal himself, nay, the very God of the Christians, presume to enter his dominions, he would serve them in the very same manner."—*History of Japan*, Vol. I. p. 320.

prison of Desima at Nangasaki, where they have since continued. The Dutch, in this imprisonment, were still able to sell as great and purchase as large a quantity of goods as they thought proper, and there yet existed no restriction in regard to the nature either of the import or export cargos. It was in 1672, after an interval of about thirty years more, that the trade was virtually ruined; since which, properly speaking, it has never been a national object. The governor of Nangasaki, the state jailor of the Dutch factory, now took it upon himself to fix a maximum upon their whole import cargos, and to sell them without their knowledge, leaving with them only the alternative of re-exporting them. The Dutch governor-general, Von Imhoff, in his Memoir on the Trade of Japan, considers that this new insult offered to the Dutch had its origin in the contempt which the Japanese felt for them, in consequence of the disgraceful manner in which they had lost, a few years before, the neighbouring island of Formosa, certainly the most valuable tropical colony, from its natural capabilities, which an European people ever possessed, and the vicinity of which, in a military point of view, could always, in the hands of a spirited people, overawe the two great empires on each side of it. After the trade had gone on for twelve or thirteen years on this footing, a remonstrance on the part of the Dutch effected a change in it, but a

change which reduced it to a more unfavourable condition than ever. In 1685, the quantity of goods which they were allowed to import was restricted to 300,000 tahils, or L.100,000 Sterling. In the year 1685, the exportation of copper was limited to 25,000 piculs. In the year 1710, the number of ships, before unlimited, and which usually amounted to six or seven, was limited to four. In 1714, the exportation of copper was limited to 15,000 piculs, and finally, in 1743, the trade was reduced to its present miserable extent, the shipping being limited to one vessel, and the exportation of copper to 7500 piculs.

The Dutch are literally imprisoned, or at least placed under a rigorous *surveillance*, which, for the degradation of the details, has no parallel. The ships no sooner arrive than their rudders are unshipped, their guns dismantled, their arms and ammunition removed, a military guard put on board, and row-boats appointed to watch them. Their cargos are landed by, and placed in charge of, the officers of the Japanese government, and the Dutch have neither control over, nor access to them, except through *solicitation*. The island of Desima, to which they are confined, is an artificial structure of stone, raised upon the rocks of the harbour, measuring in its greatest length 236 paces, by a breadth of 82. It communicates with the town of Nangasaki, by a bridge and gate, and

is palisadoed all round, as well as surrounded by a guard. From this imprisonment the Dutch are allowed to peep twice or thrice a-year, rather to be exhibited to the great as a curiosity than out of indulgence. A corps of constables and interpreters are appointed to watch over their minutest actions, and the most degrading servilities are exacted from the highest among them, by the meanest officers of the Japanese government. *

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* The Dutch have not now even the excuse which they had in the time of Kæmpfer, when he tells us, "So great was the covetousness of the Dutch, and so great the alluring power of the Japanese gold, that rather than quit the prospect of a trade, indeed most advantageous, they willingly underwent an almost habitual imprisonment, for such, in fact, is our stay at Desima, and chose to suffer many hardships in a foreign and heathen country, to be remiss in performing divine service on Sundays, and solemn festivals; to leave off praying and singing psalms in public, entirely to avoid the sign of the cross, the calling upon Christ in the presence of the natives, and all the outward marks of Christianity; and lastly, patiently and submissively to bear the abusive and injurious behaviour of these proud infidels towards us, than which nothing can be offered more shocking to a generous and noble mind."—Vol. I. p. 325.

The following is a specimen of the conduct expected from the Dutch towards the officers of the Japanese government. The *Banjos* alluded to are a sort of constables or superior police-officers: "The Opperhoofd, or director of the Dutch factory, Myn Heer van Doeff, was also brought along with the banjos; but it was upwards of an hour before he was

Besides the Portuguese and Spaniards, with the Dutch, the English are the only European people

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permitted to come on board. He had scarcely entered the cabin with his suite, consisting of his secretary, the two captains of the Dutch ships that were here, and a Baron Pabst, when they were all obliged to remain during several minutes in an inclined posture, which they were called upon to do, by a most insolent order from the interpreter: '*Myn Heer Opperhoofd, compliment voor de Opper Banjos!*' This submissive, and at the same time degrading attention, was not answered even by a nod. The compliments, as they are called, of the Dutch, are something between the bows of the Europeans and Japanese, which last consist in throwing yourself flat on the ground, touching the earth with your head, and crouching backwards and forwards, according as you may be spoken to by your superior. The Dutch would find great difficulty in casting themselves on the ground, owing to their clothes, and the pliability of the body required in these prostrations cannot be expected in people who are not brought up to it; but in order to imitate the Japanese customs as much as possible, the Dutchman must incline his body until it forms nearly the figure of a right angle; and what is much more difficult, he must remain in this position with his arms extended until he receives permission to stand again in his natural posture, which is not until a lapse of some minutes. There must likewise be a difference in the compliments which the Dutch pay in Jeddo from those which we saw here; for we were told that, previous to going there, all persons belonging to the embassies receive instructions in bowing. The Japanese never ventured to propose this submission to us: upon their second visit, indeed, one of the interpreters, just after I had been addressed by the banjos,

who ever traded to Japan. An edict in favour of their trade was obtained from the emperor by Captain Saris, chiefly through the influence of Adams, an Englishman, residing in the country. The edict was highly favourable to a free intercourse, and, indeed, not only conceded many favourable conditions, but some that ought never in modesty or good policy to have been asked for, as for example, a total exemption from import and export duties, and an exemption from the control of the laws of the empire.*

In 1619, five years after its establishment, the English factory was removed by order of the government to Nangasaki; and, in 1623, the factory, under the usual pretexts, was withdrawn. The English, at that time, having, in fact, no manufactures of their own fit for a foreign market, and no intercourse with China from whence they might obtain commodities fit for the market of Japan, were in no condition to compete with the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Dutch. Fifty years

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applied his hand gently to my back; but when this occasioned me to look earnestly at him, he withdrew, nor did they ever renew the attempt."—*Krusenstern's Voyage round the World*, Vol. I. p. 261, 262.

* "And that all offences committed by them shall be punished by the *Cape merchant*, according to his *discretion*, and our laws to take no hold of their persons or goods!!"—*Purchas's Pilgrims.*

after the East India Company had voluntarily abandoned the trade to Japan, they made an attempt to re-establish it in the reign of Charles II., and while at war with the Dutch. On the representation of the latter we were, on this occasion, excluded, on the *reasonable* pretext that the king of England had espoused a princess of Portugal! As this attempt was made the very year after the Dutch trade was placed under limitations, any thing short of discomfiture could hardly be looked for. Attempts equally unsuccessful were made in 1681, 1683, and 1689, the Japanese pertinaciously persevering in their resolution to exclude us from the empire in common with all other foreigners. These failures, after the tide of popularity had begun to run against the European character, are hardly to be regretted. Any partial success on the part of a body of men exhibiting a military and political power, along with commercial transactions, among a people so jealous and so proud as the Japanese, could not be lasting, and the national character, presented even under the most disadvantageous form, could never have brooked the contumelies necessary to be borne for establishing such a connection as that of the Dutch. In the year 1813, we made, under the Dutch flag, another attempt to open an intercourse with Japan, totally unsuccessful. We found, on this occasion, that time had softened the prejudices of the na-

tives towards our religion, but that, as they were not ignorant that we were more powerful and dangerous than our ancestors, they were fully more jealous of us, politically, than they had been of them.

Attempts, in every form, have been made of late by Europeans, but in vain, to open a connection with Japan. Private American merchants tried it in 1801 and 1802. Private merchants from British India made an attempt in 1803; and the same year the Russians sent their embassy, the result of which is well known to us, from the candid and sensible account of Krusenstern. We may certainly calculate, therefore, that every attempt to establish an intercourse between European nations and the Japanese empire, by fair negotiation, must at present be fruitless. The residence of the Dutch at Nangasaki, on the present principle, must be looked upon as throwing a great obstacle in the way of it. Without proving any benefit to that nation in particular, but the contrary, the nature of the relation subsisting between them and the Japanese is of a character which tends to make the latter view the whole European race with contempt and ridicule. It may be safely recommended to them as a measure of wisdom, as well as liberality, to withdraw, in the mean time, from all commercial concerns—to remove themselves from their ignominious imprisonment at Nangasaki—to confine themselves to send-

ing, as they are at present permitted to do, an embassy every three years to the Emperor of Japan, with proper presents to himself and his officers, which will compensate for the loss of such articles of European supply as they have been in the habit of receiving—and to rejecting all commercial intercourse not founded on a perfect freedom of trade. No one nation can expect to conduct with another an equal and beneficial commerce to the exclusion of the rest of the world. A trade of this description would be liable to abuses on both sides, for the competition of nations may be reckoned almost as necessary to the wholesome conduct of a trade as that of individuals. By a generous policy of the nature now recommended, the Dutch nation would consult its own dignity, and considering the neighbourhood of their settlements to Japan, the expence of a mission would be but inconsiderable. This line of conduct would give some chance to the re-establishment of an useful intercourse with Europeans, and a better one to a free intercourse with China, by which an indirect but beneficial commerce in European commodities might be carried on.

The only people besides the Dutch who are admitted to Japan are the Chinese; and as their commerce, as will presently be seen, is not unconnected with my present subject, I shall furnish a short sketch of it. The Chinese, after

the tacit permission given to them on the last Tartarian conquest, to carry on foreign trade, entered with avidity into that with Japan, so conveniently situated for an intercourse with their country. At first, they were permitted to trade indiscriminately with every part of the empire, and to what extent they thought proper; but in process of time, like the European nations, they were confined to the port of Nangasaki. Even after this event, they came over to Japan in great numbers; and Kæmpfer describes no less than two hundred junks, with fifty men each, coming annually to Japan. It is remarkable enough that it was the misconduct of the European nations, and not their own, that chiefly brought about the restrictions to which their trade was subjected. The emperor of Japan heard that the monarch of China protected the Christians; and some books on Christianity having found their way to Japan among the goods of the Chinese, the jealousy of the government was roused, and limits immediately put to their trade. In 1688, they were placed, like the Dutch, under the *surveillance* of the police of Nangasaki, and imprisoned as they were. In the year 1685, the same year in which the Dutch trade was limited to 300,000 tahils, the Chinese was also limited, and the sum fixed upon was double the amount of that of the Dutch trade. This measure, founded on a principle of dealing with impartiality towards all

foreign nations, the Chinese suffered from in every future limitation to which the Dutch trade was subjected. At the time this limitation was put to the Chinese trade, they were still allowed to send seventy junks a year to Japan. The trade was not confined to that country alone, but the Chinese settled in other parts were allowed to participate. On this principle, a trade was conducted between Japan and Tonquin, Cochinchina, Camboja, Siam, and Java.

In the year 1700, when the Dutch trade was limited to four ships, that of the Chinese was limited to twenty junks; and when the Dutch trade was reduced to one large ship, or two small ones, that of the Chinese was reduced to its present amount, of ten junks, and 15,000 piculs of copper,—their trade being always reckoned at double the amount of that of the Dutch. The Chinese junks are of about 400 tons burden, and the trade is conducted on the part of China from the port of Ning-po, in the province of Che-ki-ang, not above four days' voyage from Nangasaki, and so conveniently situated that it may be performed by a good vessel at any season. Even the Chinese make two voyages a year. The productions imported into Japan from China are raw and wrought silks, the spices, camphor, and frankincense of the Archipelago; zinc ore, *damar*, drugs, particularly

ginseng root; ivory, sugar, fine tea, tin, lead, and *philosophical* and theological books.* By this channel a small quantity of British woollens find their way to the distant market of Japan. The exports are copper, camphor, lacquered ware, and the *bech de mer*, or *holothuria*.

As an object of curiosity I shall exhibit a brief

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* "As to these books, it happened, as I have taken notice above, that some relating to the Christian religion, which were composed and printed by the Jesuits in China, slipt in among the rest. When this was first found out by the Japanese, they obliged the proprietor of the books to testify, in the most solemn manner, that he was not a Christian himself, and that he did not bring over any of these books designedly, and knowing what they were; then, to make him more circumspect for the future, they sent him back with his junk and whole cargo, without permitting him to dispose of any one part of it. Upon this, it was ordered for the future, that all books imported by the Chinese whatever should be first examined, and one of each kind read and censured, before they should have leave to sell them. This office of censors, with a competent yearly allowance, hath been given to two learned men of this town, one whereof is Father Prior of the Monastery, *Siutokus*, who is to read and censure all the ecclesiastic books; the other is a *Sjestos* philosopher and physician to the *Dairi*, as he styles himself, who is to read and censure all the philosophical, historical, and other books. This latter gentleman resides at *Tattajamma*, and wears long hair, which he ties together behind his head, as the custom is among the philosophers, physicians and surgeons of the country."—*History of Japan*, Vol. I. p. 379.

sketch of the commercial capabilities of Japan, which will enable the reader to understand some additional causes, which have contributed to the restricted intercourse which now subsists between that nation and foreigners. Japan is the only great and civilized empire of Asia, situated in the temperate zone. It lies between the latitudes of thirty and forty degrees, the happiest climate of our globe. In winter there is a considerable fall of snow, and the summers are hot, but the climate is, upon the whole, remarkable for salubrity. The land is rather sterile than fertile, but, by the industry of a numerous people, highly cultivated. It is rich in mines of the most precious and of the most useful of the metals, gold and silver, iron and copper. These, and a few manufactures in which the Japanese excel all mankind, they could afford to exchange for the productions of tropical countries which do not grow in their own, and for the manufactures of commercial Europe, which must necessarily be suited to the natural wants of a people inhabiting similar climates with ourselves. From the east coast of America, Japan is probably not distant above a month or five weeks' sail. It is but four or five days' sail from some of the richest provinces of China; from Manilla not probably above six or seven days' voyage, and from Batavia, at the most, not above twenty. From these last it could receive every species of colonial produce, and

intermediately *they* would also supply it with the manufactures of distant Europe.

The character of the Japanese is most singular. They possess, with the physiognomy of the Chinese, some of their political and religious institutions; with their arts, their industry, and docility, a portion of the spirit, courage, and curiosity of the inhabitants of the temperate regions of Europe, and no small share of the revengeful temper and ferocity which belong to all men in barbarous states of society. *

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* The following authentic and well known story shews the devotedness of which the Japanese are capable when their honour and revenge are concerned: "As an instance of what I have mentioned," says Kæmpfer, "let it suffice, at present, to mention one single exploit of seven young men, natives of the province of *Satzuma*, an action the more surprising as it was committed in a foreign country, in presence of the Dutch, no longer ago than 1630. The case was this: A small Japanese vessel had been a trading to the island of Formosa, then, as yet, in possession of the Dutch. Japan was not at that time shut up, but its inhabitants at liberty to trade to what country they pleased, and the island Formosa hath been since taken by the Chinese, in whose possession it now remains. Peter Nuits, a Dutchman, who was then governor of Formosa, treated the Japanese who came on board this vessel with some harshness and severity, perhaps by way of reprisals. The Japanese took it as an affront and injury done, not so much to themselves as to their prince, to whom, when they got home, they made grievous complaints, insomuch that he grew very passionate and angry, the rather as he saw himself, as it were, under an impossibi-

When their laws permitted them to quit their own country, the Japanese were the most adventurous of the nations of the east. They settled in every part of the Indian Archipelago, and in many of the neighbouring countries, and such was their re-

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lity of revenging so heinous an affront offered him by *Nanbani*, that is, southern people, (a contemptible name which they give to foreigners, and particularly the Dutch,) whereupon his guards addressed him in the following manner: "We will no longer, Sir," said they, "guard your person if you will not give us leave to revenge your honour and reputation. Nothing but the offender's blood shall wash off this spot. Command, and we will cut off that wicked head, or bring him alive into your presence to be punished by you as you shall desire and he deserves. Seven of us will be enough. Neither the danger of the voyage, nor the strength of his castle, nor the number of his guards, shall preserve him from our wrath. They are *Nanbani*, we of divine extraction." (*Nifon-jin*, that is, Japanese, or, in the literal sense, inhabitants of the subcelestial world.) They would not desist from their demand till leave was granted them. The attempt indeed was bold, but carried on with no less prudence than courage and success. After a happy voyage they came safely to Formosa, and, being admitted to an audience of the governor, they all drew their swords, seized upon his person, and carried him off prisoner to their vessel in the middle of the day, amidst all his guards and domestics, none of which durst offer to stir in his defence, or to rescue him from his bold conductors, who, with their swords drawn, threatened to stab him the moment the least opposition should be made."—*Hist. of Japan*, Vol. II. p. 57. Appendix.

putation for bravery and docility, that they were the principal Asiatic soldiers employed by the European nations.

The specific commodities which Japan is either capable of affording, or actually does afford, for exportation, are gold, silver, copper, tutenague, iron, camphor, ambergris, tea, rice, soy, wrought silks, lacquered-ware, and earthenware. The imports are raw and wrought silks, cotton goods, woollens, glass-ware, hardware, quicksilver, antimony, ore of zinc or calamine, cinnabar, amber, coral, and pearls, dressed and undressed hides, sandal and sapan wood, Malayan camphor, ivory, alum, cloves, mace, pepper, raw sugar, coffee, and tea. I shall offer a few remarks upon the most important of these. Japan, rather a sterile than a fertile country, as already observed, is more remarkable for its mineral than vegetable wealth. When Europeans became first acquainted with that empire, there appears to have been a great accumulation of the precious metals within it. The mines were probably very fertile, and from this circumstance,—the low price of labour in Japan—the industry and skill of its inhabitants—and there being no outlet for gold and silver, these metals were at a much lower value than in other countries. They constituted, of course, the principal article of exportation. It has been already stated, on the authority of Kæmpfer,

that the Portuguese annually exported gold, in the most flourishing period of their trade, to the extent of two millions and a half sterling. This enormous amount, far greater than the mines of the New World afforded at the same period, is probably much exaggerated. The sums exported in later years may, however, be relied on. In 1636, they exported 2350 chests of silver, amounting to L.783,333⅓ sterling; in 1637, L. 714,121½ sterling; and in 1638, L. 419,674½ sterling. These large sums, although they may be considered as evidences of the abundance of the precious metals in Japan, cannot perhaps be justly considered as averages of the annual exports of the Portuguese, who were at the moment in a state of alarm from the persecution against their religion, and, therefore, making efforts to remove their property. While the Portuguese were exporting these sums, and the Chinese were driving a great commerce also, the Dutch are described as exporting no less than 60 tons of gold a-year, or about half a million Sterling. After the expulsion of the Portuguese, the Dutch exports increased, and in 1641, they are described as remitting in gold 80 tons, or L. 700,000 sterling. The export of the precious metals from Japan, or the increased difficulty of working the mines, or the prohibition of working them, rendered, in process of time, their price to

near the standard of other countries.* Gold appears always to have been more plentiful than silver, because, perhaps, the mines of it require less skill in working. The Portuguese exported large quantities of silver; but the Dutch, who, in 1641, exported L.700,000 Sterling worth of

* "The emperor claims the supreme jurisdiction of all the gold mines, and, indeed, all other mines in the empire, none of which may be opened and worked without his express leave and consent. Of the produce of all the mines which are worked he claims two-thirds, and one-third is left to the lord of the province in which the mine lies; the latter, however, as they reside upon the spot, know how to improve their third parts so as to share pretty equally with the emperor. The richest gold ore, and which yields the finest gold, is dug up in *Sado*, one of the northern provinces in the great island *Nipon*. Some of the veins there were formerly so rich, that one *catti* of the ore yielded one, and sometimes two *tahils* of gold, *(5 and 10 per cent.)* But of late, as I was informed, the veins there, and in most other mines, not only were scarcer, but yield not near the quantity of gold they formerly did, which we were told was the occasion, amongst other reasons, of the late strict orders relating to the trade and commerce with us and the Chinese." —*History of Japan*, Vol. I. p. 107. Kæmpfer's account of the exactions of the emperor and provincial chief contains internal evidence of exaggeration; but it is probable they are founded on those exactions being exorbitant; and this, more likely than the exhaustion of the mineral veins, will account for the rise in the price of gold and silver in Japan.

gold, exported only 14 chests of silver, amounting to L. 4666⅔ Sterling. They sold the gold on the continent of India, at an advance of 28 per cent., but gained only 4 per cent. on the silver. After this we hear no more of the exportation of silver, but, on the contrary, the Dutch at present find a profit in the permission given to them to import a quantity of their national coin. In the year 1700, the Japanese government made an important alteration in the standard of their coin, having debased their *Cobang* or *Cupang* from a fineness of between twenty and twenty-one carats, to between thirteen and fourteen carats, whilst they compelled the Dutch to receive it, thus reduced in value 37 per cent., at the old rates.

Besides the precious metals, Japan produces copper, iron, and the alloyed metal tutenague. *Copper* is the most important and abundant of all these; and, according to Kæmpfer, is as cheap as iron. The price paid for it by the Dutch, in all periods of their connection, has been about $12\frac{35}{100}$ tahils, or $18\frac{30}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul, equal to L.3, 9s. 2d. per cwt. This is considerably less than half the price of British sheet copper, which is of inferior intrinsic value in all foreign markets. The Dutch, at one period, exported from 700 to 1200 tons a-year, a large portion of which was disposed of on the continent of India, at a clear gain of from 90 to 95 per cent. We hear nothing of cop-

per, as an article of commerce, until the removal of the Dutch to the prison of Desima, when they obtained leave to trade in it; and for a long time the quantity exported was unlimited. From the history of the commerce in copper, we may learn, that it has become, like gold and silver, scarcer in late times, and that it is given to the Dutch at a price far below its intrinsic value. This appears by the constant reductions made by the Japanese government in the extent of the supply; and the acknowledgment of the Dutch themselves, that the copper was given to them as a favour, and must have been a tax on the traders who supplied it.* Imhoff accordingly acknowledges that the price which ought to be paid for copper was 20 tahils the picul, or L. 5, 12s. per cwt. instead of L. 3, 9s. 2d. There is, it must be confessed, something very perplexing in the accounts we receive of the fluctuation in the price both of the precious and useful metals in Japan. *Iron,*

* "Nothing is more natural, therefore," says the Baron Imhoff, "than that our exportation of copper should have become a burden to that class of people, and that their complaints contributed to the restrictions to which we are now subject. There is no doubt that, could the Japanese keep up the communication without allowing us a single chest of copper, they would willingly grant us 6000 *tahils* (L. 2000) as a gratification, over and above the stipulated price for our cargo."

which Imhoff assures us was purchased in Japan at two Spanish dollars the picul, and exported to Batavia, where it was sold at an advance of 175 per cent. is represented by Kæmpfer, whose testimony is more to be relied on, as being fully dearer than copper. He affords unquestionable proof of this, indeed, when he lets us into the knowledge of this decisive fact, that by the Japanese copper is constantly used in many such domestic utensils as are made of iron in other countries, and for bolts, nails, and other purposes in naval architecture. Their culinary utensils are, however, made of iron. Saris also states the price of iron at a very high rate, and as above that of copper. It is probable from this statement, that were a free trade again established with that empire, iron, instead of being exported, would become one of the greatest and most valuable commodities for importation from Europe. The iron of Japan, we may believe, is of the finest quality, since, with their imperfect skill, the Japanese are capable of fabricating from it cimeters equal in temper to the renowned blades of Damascus.

Camphor seems not to have become a great article of exportation, until that of copper was limited. Europe and China are at present principally supplied with the camphor of Japan. The Japanese, whose country produces such abundance of this commodity, have the same taste and pay the same exorbitant prices for that of the Indian islands

as the Chinese. Thirty-three tahils, or L. 11 the *catti* of $1\frac{1}{3}$ lb. were paid for it in Kæmpfer's time, which is much above the price paid at present for the best sort in China. *

The *tea* of Japan is inferior to that of China, yet the Dutch at one time exported it in considerable quantity. They appear to have paid a high price for it, and it is probable that, considering the sterility of the soil of Japan, compared to that of China, this production cannot be reared there so cheap or so good as in the latter country. This appears plain enough from the circumstance of tea being an article of importation from China, and from the acknowledgment of the Dutch, that the tea of Japan is neither so good, nor will keep so well as that of China. The use of tea is as general in Japan as in China; the people of the latter drink only black tea, those of the former only green.

The *rice* of Japan is of the very finest quality, and small quantities are exported as objects of curiosity, but in a country with an inferior soil, a crowded population, and no unoccupied land, it *must* be high priced, and can never be largely exported. It is much more probable, that in a free trade, it would become a great article of importation from the Archipelago and Siam.

* The passion for the edible swallows' nests does not, it is remarkable, extend to the Japanese.

As a manufacturing people, the Japanese are inferior to their neighbours, the Chinese, although in some particular wares they excel all people. Their lacquered work is of inimitable beauty and perfection, and some of their wrought silks, particularly their crapes, the most exquisite fabrics that can be conceived. Their porcelain is inferior to that of China, but though coarse, substantial and durable. That the manufactures of Japan should be more costly than those of China may perhaps be, in a great measure, ascribed to the high price of the raw materials in a country not fertile, and which can receive no supply from abroad.

To describe all the foreign commodities which the Japanese, a rich, luxurious, and numerous people, inhabiting the same climate with ourselves, and having the same essential wants, would require, would perhaps embrace all that a manufacturing and commercial people could supply, from their own industry or that of their colonies. The sugar-cane is not cultivated in Japan, and *sugar* constitutes one of the most considerable articles of the cargos of the Dutch and Chinese. The Dutch sold their coarse sugar at near 20 Spanish dollars the picul of 125 Dutch lbs. probably about ten times the price paid for it. The higher ranks are principally clothed in silks; the lower orders in cotton. The dress which covers the under part of the body of both ranks is usually made of a kind of

linen, manufactured from the fibrous bark of a species of *urtica*. * The principal dress of both sexes and of all ranks consists of a robe or gown, open in front, and secured by a girdle. For warmth the number of these is multiplied from three or four, to a dozen or more, and they are frequently quilted, with the same view, with silk or cotton wadding. The sheep is unknown to the Japanese, nor do they understand the art of manufacturing cloth from any species of hair or wool. Notwithstanding this, the woollen manufactures of Europe are in great repute among them. By Captain Saris' account, † Flemish broad cloth was purchased with avidity, at an advance of 550 per cent. All the manufactures in which the Japanese are clothed can be manufactured by their neighbours cheaper than by themselves, and these can also furnish them with the raw material cheaper than they can grow or produce it. They receive from China both raw and wrought silk, and when the European nations had free access to them, they imported large quantities of the cotton fabrics of India.

In Caron's description of Japan, ‡ there is a

* Thunberg's Travels, Vol. III. p. 267. This author's work, upon all material subjects, is little better than a compilation from Kæmpfer, by an inferior man.

† Purchas, Vol. I. Book III. p. 394.

‡ Caron, according to Kæmpfer, was a person, who, by his abilities, raised himself from the mean condition of a

statement of a Chinese investment for the Japanese market, consisting chiefly of raw and wrought silks, with a few calicoes, amounting to one million and fifty thousand Spanish dollars, on which the author pledges himself to his employers, the Dutch East India Company, that he will make a clear profit of eight hundred thousand Spanish dollars. * The avidity with which European goods were purchased in our early intercourse with Japan is shewn by the quantities taken off, notwithstanding the high cost of the rude manufactures of Europe at the time, and the enormous profits charged upon them. The advance on broad cloths has already been stated at 550 per cent.; quicksilver, according to Captain Saris, was sold at L.11 Sterling per cwt.; iron at $22\frac{22}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul, or L.4, 4s. per cwt.; steel and

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ship's cook, to be chief of the factory of Nangasaki, and who did some mischief in the latter office.

* The author of this proposal was one Leonard Camps. The following, from an old English version, are the terms in which he pledges himself: "This aforesaid China Cargasoon being sent yearlie to *Japan*, I engage myself to my masters, so long as God gives me health, to serve them for nothing, unless I return them in four or five months' time, in good silver, one million eight hundred and fifty thousand royals of eight; if that be not enough, let them send more, and the gain will be the greater."—*Description of Japan* p. 107.

lead, each at 46$\frac{39}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul, or L.8, 15s. 4d. per cwt., and block tin at L.11 per cwt.

In the time of Kæmpfer, the Dutch appear to have exacted enormous profits for their goods. China raw silk they sold at 651$\frac{1}{2}$ tahils the picul, or 33s. 3d. the pound, which is little less than 300 per cent. advance on the present prices in China. Bengal and Tonquin silks were sold at similar rates. Cloves were sold at 11s. 2d. the pound. The clear gain made at this time on the export and import cargos is reckoned by Kæmpfer for each at 60 per cent. gross profit, or 40 to 45 per cent. neat profit, which, on the whole transaction, made from L.80,000 to L. 90,000 Sterling.

After this statement, there can be no denying that a free trade and a fair competition, such as would enable the Japanese to obtain foreign commodities at a reasonable rate, and insure to them a proper price for their own, with abstaining from all interference in the affairs of the government, were alone necessary to have perpetuated the most valuable branch of commerce which the east ever offered to European enterprise. After the early misconduct of the Portuguese and Dutch, the European nations would have had many obstacles, indeed, to contend with, but none that free commerce would not have surmounted. The regulations of the Dutch not

only precluded all access to other nations, but rigidly interdicted the free trade of their own merchants. While they declaimed against the measures of retaliation pursued by the Japanese, they forgot the gross injustice of their own policy. Every offer of fair trade on the part of the former was disdainfully rejected by them. Whenever the commodities of the country were offered to them at the market rates, they complained of this as a breach of engagement. By Imhoff's account, abundance of copper might be had at the rate of 1s. a pound, probably near the market price; but the Dutch refused to have it unless they could get it at little more than 7d., or 5d. less than it was worth. The Japanese, of course, reduced their supply first from an unlimited quantity to 25,000 piculs, and ultimately to the pittance of 7500 piculs. Tutenague, brass, and camphor, were all successively tendered to them by the Japanese at the market prices, which were much below the prices of the same commodities in China, but they were always rejected. At the same time, as will appear by the statements already given, they put the most exorbitant charge upon all they sold to the Japanese. Black pepper, which the Japanese obtained when the English and Chinese traded freely with them, at 6d. a pound, the Dutch sold to them at 1s. 1½d., and cloves at a far more exorbitant rate. When orders were given, on the part of the Japanese, for

new wares, they were either not brought at all, or brought of a bad quality; and this had been so often practised, that Imhoff acknowledges that the Japanese had been so often deceived, that it would be extremely difficult to make them believe that the Dutch were capable of fulfilling their engagements, even supposing them to do so at any particular time with perfect integrity. The Japanese were, at the same time, privy to the numerous frauds and malversations of the agents of the monopoly on the spot, and had detected them practising the lowest and most discreditable artifices, to evade the laws of the country under the protection of which they were living. *

* The Japanese government made a formal complaint to the Dutch government at Batavia of the impositions practised at the factory at Nangasaki. The following from Thunberg is a specimen of the conduct of the Dutch officers at Nangasaki. "We now perceived," says he, "a boat coming from shore to meet us. The captain, therefore, dressed himself in a blue silk coat, trimmed with silver lace, made very large and wide, and stuffed and furnished in front with a large cushion. This coat has for many years past been used for the purpose of smuggling prohibited wares into the country, as the chief and the captain of the ship were the only persons who were exempted from being searched. The captain generally made three trips in this coat every day from the ship to the factory, and was frequently so loaded with goods that, when he went ashore, he was obliged to be supported by two sailors, one under each arm. By these means the captain derived a considerable profit annually from the other officers,

It was impossible that the Japanese could be patient under a system, the effect of which was virtually to plunder them of their property. At the same time, they seem evidently to have been unwilling to lose the Dutch altogether, because they wished, as a matter of policy, and probably as a matter of curiosity, to be informed, through their means, of what was passing in the world, to which, notwithstanding their pride and their selfishness, they are not, and cannot be, indifferent. They reduced the Dutch trade, therefore, to as low a state as they thought compatible with this object.

What probability is there of a free intercourse being restored between Japan and the rest of the civilized world? This is a question which affords

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whose wares he carried in and out, together with his own, for ready money, which might amount to several thousand rix dollars."—*Thunberg's Voyages*, Vol. III. p. 13. This disgraceful practice was at length prohibited, not by the Dutch but by the Japanese government. "For many years," adds Thunberg, "the captain was not only equipped with the wide surtout above described, but also wore large and capacious breeches, in which he carried contraband wares ashore. These, however, were suspected, and consequently laid aside; and the coat, the last resource, was now, to the owner's great regret, to be taken off. It was droll enough to see the astonishment which the sudden reduction in the size of our bulky captain excited in the major part of the ignorant Japanese, who before had always imagined that all our captains were actually as fat and lusty as they appeared to be."—p. 17.

matter of curious speculation. On the only probable means of restoring it by negotiation I have already offered some conjectures. A great revolution in the government of Japan, by which the empire would be broken down into a number of petty states, as it was before the usurpation of *Taikosama*, would certainly effect it. The inferior princes who, in such a case, had thrown off their allegiance, would find it for their advantage to court an intercourse with Europeans, if for no other reason than to supply them with the munitions of war. This would give rise to a connection, that, if conducted with moderation, which the competition among nations would insure, would prevent the empire from being restored in its present form,—hinder, in short, the re-establishment of that system of excluding strangers, which has chiefly contributed to uphold the Javanese government for 235 years, a duration longer than history records of any other Eastern monarchy.

The probability of an intercourse being restored by means of *conquest* is, perhaps, however greater. There is no Asiatic power that can effect the conquest of Japan, for several reasons. The Japanese are more numerous and united than any people of Asia except the Chinese, and in arts and arms they are at least equal to the best, and much superior to the greater number. Besides all this, their insular situation opposes an insuperable barrier to their conquest

by any Asiatic people, whose want of maritime skill, judging from the experience of all history, will never enable them to equip a fleet equal to transport an army adequate to so great an enterprise. The Tartars, the only people of Asia who ever made extensive distant conquests, made an unsuccessful attempt on Japan in the year 1284, flushed with their success in the conquest of China, and with all the resources of that country at their command, while the ports from which they sailed were not above five or six days' voyage distant. The European race is the only one which can now effect distant conquests, and the very circumstance, the maritime voyage, which opposes an insuperable obstacle to the conquests of an Asiatic people, gives facility to theirs. Since the Japanese have shut up their empire, that race has been gathering round them. The Russians are, since then, colonized at Kamschatka, within a month's voyage. The British empire has been established in Hindustan, not above six weeks' sail from them. A colony of the English has been founded in Australasia, destined to be a mighty empire, and not a month distant from Japan. Two great empires are established, or establishing, by the European race in the New World, the western shore of which cannot be above a month's voyage from Japan by the surest and easiest navigation in the world. The danger is perhaps least from the quarter where, at first view, it appears

most imminent, from the Russians. Their establishment at Kamschatka is formed in a situation far removed from the effective power of the empire, and in a country by nature so sterile and inhospitable, that the European race can never become in it populous or powerful, nor can it ever therefore furnish the means of fitting out a great armament adequate to the conquest of Japan. The most imminent danger to the independence of Japan is from the western shore of America, either from the Anglo-Americans when they shall have spread to that coast, and when their settlements shall have become populous and powerful in that quarter, or, in a less distant time, perhaps, from the Spanish Americans of Chili, Peru or Mexico. These may yet avenge the wrongs, real or imaginary, which the Japanese did to their ancestors and to their religion. A powerful and ambitious people of Northern or Southern America would easily fit out a fleet on the Columbia at Acapulco, Lima, or Valparaiso, which, in a month's time, would invade Japan, unaware of what is passing in the rest of the world, and wholly unprepared to resist it. When the time comes that the Spanish Americans navigate the seas of India in numbers, they will probably not be without pretext. If one of their vessels, for example, should happen to be shipwrecked on the coast of Japan, it is probable that, in obedience to the standing orders of the empire, which are inviolate, the crew

would be put to death, and this violation of the law of nations would at once be equivalent to a declaration of war. The conquest of Japan, notwithstanding the superior courage and spirit of its inhabitants, would perhaps be easier than that of China, which has yielded to every conqueror that has tried it. The coasts of China, where China would be invaded, are situated within the tropics, and Europeans would suffer from the climate. Japan is a healthy mountainous country, in the temperate zone, and the climate would be perfectly congenial to them. China is a great continuous territory, difficult, of course, to penetrate. It has been for ages accustomed to obey the rule of one master with an undivided authority, and a portion of it could not be conquered unless a conquest were made of the whole. Japan consists of many separate islands easily accessible. The government of the provinces is in the hands of hereditary princes, who might readily be detached from their allegiance to their chief. A single island might be conquered or detached without the whole empire, and readily preserved by the superiority of an European navy. An illustrious traveller * is of opinion,

* "Should a canal of communication," says Humboldt, "be opened between the two oceans, the productions of Nootka Sound and of China will be brought more than 2000 leagues nearer to Europe and the United States. Then only can

that the neck of land which divides the two Americas, has been hitherto the bulwark of the independence of China and Japan. This opinion, I conclude, must relate to a direct attack from Europe, and is certainly not well founded. No European nation has ever yet been in a condition to fit out a fleet and armament of such magnitude and efficiency of equipment, as, after a voyage, at the very shortest, of between three and four months, could accomplish so mighty and distant an enterprise as the conquest of Japan. A canal across the isthmus would facilitate the conquest of Japan, if attempted from America, by giving the western shore of that continent the advantages of the superior resources of the eastern shore; but it would not facilitate the conquest if attempted from Europe, for it could not be navigated by the great ships necessary to transport troops across the Atlantic, and ultimately over the Pacific. This fleet must be constructed or collected on the western coast of America, and that coast must be the rendezvous from which the expedition sails. America may be looked upon as a stepping-stone to the

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any great changes be effected in the political state of *Eastern Asia*, for this neck of land, the barrier against the waves of the Atlantic Ocean, has been for many ages the bulwark of the independence of China and Japan."—*Political Essay on New Spain.*

European race to reach Eastern Asia, and without it, that portion of the world might be considered safe, at least in this direction, from European invasion. It is the nursery of the race of men that is to conquer and civilize Asia.

A few words are necessary on the subject of the *intercourse* between the *Philippines and America*, although I have nothing new to communicate. The Indian commerce of Spain, if Spain can be said to have any Indian commerce, is like that of other nations of Europe, conducted by an exclusive company, in which the king is a stock-holder; but the trade between Manilla and Acapulco is conducted distinct from this, and still in the manner in which it has been carried on for many ages, by a single annual ship or galleon of 1200 or 1500 tons. This is also a monopoly, the cargos to Acapulco being by law limited to half a million of Spanish dollars, or L. 112,500, and amounting by connivance to no more than a million and a half, or two millions, L. 337,500, or L. 450,000 Sterling. The Ecclesiastical Corporations of Manilla have a large share in the investments, either adventuring themselves directly, or lending their capital to the merchants on bottomry. The galleon sails from Manilla in the middle of June, or beginning of August, when the westerly monsoon is at its height. The voyage formerly lasted from five to six months, but at present does not, even in

so heavy a ship, and in the imperfect state of navigation among the Spaniards, exceed between three and four months. After losing the monsoon, the object of the navigator is to get into the latitudes of the variable or westerly winds, or, as Humboldt calls them, in opposition to the trade winds, the atmospherical *counter currents*. These, according to the present mode of navigation, are sought, not in the southern but the northern hemisphere, for which purpose, the galleon ascends as high as the latitude of 28. 55 degrees, and then steers in a south-east direction for Acapulco. The passage of the galleon back to the Philippines is performed in one half the time she takes to make the voyage to America, although she touches at the Marian islands, and sometimes at the Sandwich islands, to water. Taking advantage of the north-west winds which blow on the northern coast of Mexico, she steers in a southerly direction, until she attains the parallel of Manilla, when she makes full sail to the west.* Although the whole navi-

* "When she arrives in the parallel of Manilla, she makes full sail to the west, having always a tranquil sea, and refreshing breezes from the point between the east and east-north-east. Nothing interrupts the serenity of the heavens in these regions, except sometimes a slight squall, which is felt when the vessel arrives at the zenith."—*Humboldt's New Spain*, Vol. IV. chap. 12.

gation lasts but five months, the galleon makes but one voyage a-year. In a free trade, two could certainly be made without difficulty. Besides the principal galleon to Mexico, a smaller vessel occasionally sails to Lima, by the same route, and with the tedious and distant voyage along the coast of America. Humboldt justly observes on this navigation, that "When Peru, liberated from the yoke of the monopoly of the Philippine Company, shall be allowed to trade without restriction to the East Indies, in returning from Canton to Lima, the preference will most likely be given to a track which goes to the south of New Holland, through seas where they are sure of favourable winds." * For the principal articles of exportation from the Philippines, Manilla is but a place of transit. The cargos of the galleon consist of the manufactures of China and Hindustan, with the produce of the Spice Islands, and western parts of the Archipelago; raw and wrought silk and cotton goods, cloves nutmegs, and pepper. The return cargo is chiefly silver, amounting to from one million to one million three hundred thousand Spanish dollars; or from L. 225,000 to L. 292,500 Sterling; some cochineal, cocoa, Spanish wines, oil, wool, and bar-iron. All this occupies but a small

* *Political Essay on New Spain*, Vol. IV. chap. 12.

portion of the tonnage of the galleon, which makes her return voyage nearly in ballast. When a free and busy intercourse is established between India and the west coast of America, the furs, the corn, and the timber, of the northern parts of the former, will be exchanged for the sugar, tea, coffee, pepper, and other spices of the Indies, and the silver and copper of Mexico, Peru, and Chili, for the same commodities.

The *trade* of the *Indian islands* with the *continent* of *India* remains to be treated of. The principal portion of it called the *Eastern trade* is conducted from Bengal. The Malay traders, as they are called, are generally vessels from two to three hundred tons burden. The principal exports from Bengal consist of opium and cotton goods; and the principal returns of gold, pepper, and tin. In consequence of the import of British cottons by our free traders, and of Turkey opium by them and by the Americans, this trade has greatly declined. Before the use of Turkey opium was introduced, the average exportations for the Indian islands used to amount to about nine hundred chests a-year, amounting to about 1000 cwt. of the drug. The average quantity of pepper imported into Bengal from the Indian islands annually, on an average of eleven years, amounted to 25,428 cwt., and the average quantity of tin, during the same time, to about 6000 cwt. The total

exports of the Indian islands to Bengal have been valued at the yearly amount of L. 429,420, and the imports at L. 530,880. The trade between Madras and the Indian islands is much smaller. The exports from the Indian islands to Madras have been valued at L. 280,000, and the imports at L. 205,000. The chintzes and cotton goods of Madras were at one time imported in large quantities into the Indian islands, but were in time supplanted by the cheaper manufactures of Bengal, as the latter have been by those of Britain. The value of the exports from the Indian islands to Bombay have been reckoned at L. 131,000, and the imports, consisting of a few Surat cloths and other trifles, at about L. 45,600. Since this estimate was formed, the exports have greatly increased, and large quantities of coffee, sugar, and even pepper, are now sent thither from Batavia. According to the statement just given, the total exports from the Indian islands to the Continent of India, in the country trade, will be L. 840,000 Sterling, and the imports L. 781,400.

It is probable that the country trade of India, in all its branches, will decline, when the capital and enterprise of Great Britain are allowed to come into fair competition with it. It has owed its rise in a great measure, to the unjust exclusion of that capital and enterprise, through our absurd system of *regulation*. The country gains no military

strength by the country trade, for the pusillanimity of the Indian *lascars* renders them utterly unfit for any military purpose. On this score, therefore, it deserves no exclusive privilege. The expence at which it is conducted is so enormous, that it is obvious how easily it would give way to a trade conducted with more skill and economy. Such is the waste of labour in the construction of an Indian ship, that, notwithstanding the low price of the principal materials, she cannot be constructed near so cheap as a British vessel. The interest of the block costs ten per cent. instead of five per cent. For every hand that a British ship requires to navigate her, an Indian ship requires three, yet an Indian seaman's wages are within 20 per cent. as high as a British seaman's. In a word, even allowing for the low price of provisions in Bengal, and the abstemious habits of the *lascar*, a British ship, as far as wages and provisions alone are concerned, will be navigated, at a moderate calculation, about 45 per cent. cheaper than an Indian ship.

CHAPTER IV.

COMMERCIAL DESCRIPTION OF ARTICLES OF EXPORTATION.

Vegetable Products.—*Rice.*—*Minor Grains.*—*Sago.*—*Vegetable Oils.*—*Cotton Wool.*—*Cotton Fabrics.*—*Indigo.*—*Black Pepper.*—*Coffee.*—*Sugar.*—*Cloves.*—*Nutmeg and Mace.*—Misoy—*Ginger, Turmeric, Cayu-puti Oil.*—*Areca.*—*Catechu Gambir.*—*Tobacco.*—*Malay Camphor.*—*Benzoin or Frankincense.*—*Lignum Aloes, or Agila Wood.*—*Dragon's Blood.*—*Damar or Rosin.*—*Sandal Wood.*—*Sapan Wood.*—*Ebony.*—*Incorruptible Wood.*—*Rattans.*—*Materials of Cordage.*—*Teak Timber.*—Animal Products.—*Horns and Hides.*—*Ivory.*—*The Bird of Paradise and Argus Pheasant Feathers.*—*Birds' Nests.*—*Lac.*—*Bees' Wax.*—*Animal Flesh.*—Fisheries.—*Dried Fish.*—*Sharks' Fins.*—*Tripang.*—*Tortoise Shell.*—*Pearls.*—*Pearl Oysters.*—*Cowrie Shells.*—*Ambergris.*—*Agar-agar.*—*Whale Fishery.*—Mineral Products.—*Tin.*—*Gold.*—*Iron.*—*Copper.*—*The Diamond.*—*Sulphur.*—*Salt.*

UNDER the common arrangement of—vegetable,—animal,—and mineral products, I shall proceed to give an account of the exports of the Indian islands, including not only such articles as are sent abroad, but such as are exchanged in the course of the commercial intercourse of the natives among themselves. After the general account rendered of the

state of society in the Indian islands, it is hardly necessary to mention, that almost the whole of the articles which they export are nearly in a crude form, and have scarcely undergone any degree of manufacture. Among the most important are articles of food, the principal of which is *rice*. The most fertile, populous, and industrious countries of the Archipelago export rice to their neighbours. The most remarkable of these are Java, Bali, some parts of Celebes, with the most fertile spots of Sumatra, and of the Malay Peninsula. Rice is generally imported from these western countries into those farther east, such as the Spice Islands. Java is the principal place of production for the consumption of the other islands, and the only island of the Archipelago that sends rice *abroad*. The principal staples of exportation in that island are places remarkable at the same time for fertility of soil, and near which there is no large town for the consumption of the surplus produce of the country, or where there exists water carriage, by which the grain of the interior may be cheaply conveyed to the coasts. The best places to take in large cargos are Indramayu, Cheribon, Tagal, Pacalongan, Japara, Gressic, and Surabaia. The rice of the eastern districts is generally superior to that of the west. The worst rice is that of Indramayu, which is usually discoloured. The subdivision of the province of Cheribon called Găbang yields rice

of fine white grain, equal to that of Carolina. The rice of Gressic preserves best. All Indian rice is classed in commercial language into the three descriptions of table rice — white rice — and cargo rice. From the limited demand for the first, it is only to be had in Java in small quantity. For the same reason the second is not procurable in large quantity, unless bespoken some time beforehand; but the third may be had at the shortest notice in any quantity required. The resident European, or other wholesale merchants, contract with the native farmers or cultivators for rice of the ordinary kind, often as low as 16 Spanish dollars per coyan, of 30 piculs of 136 lbs., or 4080 lbs. avoirdupois, equal to 23¾d. per cwt. making them advances. The stranger who exports it pays for it, according to the state of supply and demand, from 25 to 35 Spanish dollars, or an average of 3s. 8½d. per cwt. Table rice may be obtained for exportation at from 40 to 45 Spanish dollars a coyan, and ordinary white rice at from 35 to 40.

Java rice is inferior in estimation to that of Bengal or Carolina in the markets of Europe. When a cwt. of Carolina rice sells for 18s., Bengal sells for 11s. 3d., and Java for 9s. 9d. The prime cost of Carolina rice to the exporter may be estimated at $4\frac{50}{100}$ Spanish dollars per cwt., and that of Bengal in the market of Calcutta at 1 Spanish dollar and 30 cents, or 4s. 10d. per cent., so

that, allowing 46 per cent. for the intrinsic inferiority of Java to the first, and 13½ per cent. to the last, it is still cheaper than the latter by 16⅝ per cent. I know no where that rice is so cheap as in Java, except in Siam, and here it is exported as low as 10 Spanish dollars per coyan, or for one third the price even of Java rice. A great deal of the rice of this country is therefore exported to China by the junks. The low estimation of Java rice is not attributable to any real inferiority in the grain, but to the mode of preparing it for the market. In husking it, it is for the want of proper machinery much broken, and from carelessness in drying, subject to decay from the attack of insects or worms. When in the progress of improvement, more intelligent methods are pursued in preparing the grain for the market, it will equal the grain of any other country. Machinery must be employed for husking the grain, and some degree of kiln-drying will be necessary to insure its preservation in a long voyage.

Independent of the quantities exported from Java to the other countries of the Archipelago, there were exported to Europe in Dutch, American, and English vessels, in 1818, no less than 27,321⅘ tons, or 546,428⅘ cwts., and to the Isle of France and Cape of Good Hope 1821⅗ tons, or 36,428⅘ cwts. The quantity exported in native shipping from year to year is certainly not less than this, so

that the whole export cannot fall short of 29,142 tons. It may be roundly estimated, that this exportation may be about one-twentieth of the whole growth of the island. Java rice is also occasionally exported to China. Rice shipped at Batavia at one Spanish dollar per picul, or 84 cents per cwt., may, reckoning freights at L.8 per ton, be sold in England at 15s. 2½d. per cwt., allowing 30 per cent. for interest of capital, profits of stock, deficiency of freight, and incidental charges. Rice shipped in Java, at the same rate, will bring an advance of 150 to 200 per cent. in the market of Canton. In a free trade between Europe and China, vessels discharging their investments in the islands might, with advantage, therefore, fill up with rice, as, under such circumstances, freight to China could not exceed L.1, 10s. per ton, or L.2 at the highest.

Minor grains, or other secondary articles of food exported, are *maize* or Turkey corn, *pulses* and *sago*. The first are only articles of internal traffic from island to island; or from a fertile and industrious province or island to such as are less so. *Turkey corn* is never separated from the ear, still less converted into flour for the convenience of transportation.

Sago is an article of exportation to Europe,—to India, principally Bengal,—and to China. It is in its granulated form alone that it is ever sent abroad. The best sago is the produce of Siak, on

the north coast of Sumatra. This is of a light brown colour, the grains large, and not easily broken. The sago of Borneo is the next in value. It is whiter, but more friable. The produce of the Moluccas, though greatest in quantity, is of the smallest estimation. The cost of granulated sago, from the hands of the grower or producer, is about twice the price of rice in Java, or a dollar a picul. In the market of Malacca, the sago of Siak may be had at from two to three dollars per picul. The sago of Borneo has been sold to the European merchant, in Java, as low as $1\frac{3}{4}$ dollar a picul. The foreign exporter will be able to ship the former at from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per picul. It may here be worth mentioning, that, within the last few years, the Chinese of Malacca have invented a process by which they refine sago so as to give it a fine pearly lustre. Not above four or five hundred piculs of this are manufactured. It is thought that it may be obtained at about 6 dollars per picul when the supply is more equal to the demand. A small quantity of it exposed for sale in the London market, in 1818, sold for about thrice the price of ordinary sago.

Vegetable oils are produced and consumed in large quantities in the Indian islands, and might constitute, in time, a considerable article of exportation both to Europe and China. The oil of the ground pistachio and coco-nut are the most valu-

able as edible oils, and as a burning oil that of the *Palma Christi.* The ground pistachio being the produce of considerable agricultural improvement, the oil is exported chiefly from Java and the other agricultural countries; but the coco-nut growing almost spontaneously, and depending for perfection rather upon its vicinity to the sea than the fertility of the soil in which it grows, the oil of it is obtained in most abundance in the maritime countries, and is even an article of importation into Java, where the market price is usually about six Spanish dollars the picul.

The *raw cotton* of the Indian islands has hitherto been almost entirely consumed on the spot. The most improved islands export cotton to their neighbours, as *Java, Bali, Lomboc, Mangarai,* or Flores, *Butung,* &c. It may be remarked, that the production of cotton in considerable quantity, or, at least, in quantity for exportation, is confined to the islands which constitute the great chain which forms the southern barrier of the Archipelago, beginning with Java, and ending with *Timur-Laut,* that portion of the Indian islands, in short, the geological formation of which is secondary rock.

The price of Java cotton in the seed, the manner in which it is always produced for sale in the native market, may be estimated at from two to three dollars per picul. When freed from the seed, an operation which deprives the inferior

kinds of 75 per cent. of their weight, and the best of about 66 per cent. it costs from 10 to 11 dollars a picul, or 39s. 8d. per cwt. The ordinary cotton of Java is considered in the market of Canton as equal in value to the second kind of Bombay cotton, and to the cotton of Tinnivelly. Samples of it exhibited in the London market were considered to have a woolly and weak staple, but brought 12⅝d. per pound, when Surat sold at 16½d. and Bengal at 13d. It is believed by those who are acquainted with the subject, that it would be in higher estimation in the markets of the Chinese province of Fokien, if carried thither by the junks, than any where else. Cotton is a production which cannot be conveyed to a distant market with any advantage, until the skill, intelligence, and economy of Europeans be applied to its husbandry, preparation for the market, and transportation. It is cheapened and perfected, in short, by the application of skill and machinery, beyond any other produce of the soil. Thus, by a judicious selection of the best descriptions of cotton, the European cultivator enhances the value of his produce 81½ per cent., as in the difference between Surat and Georgia bowed cottons. By the use of good machinery instead of hand labour, the wool is cheaply freed from the seed, and by compression of powerful machinery, an article, naturally so bulky and expensive in transpor-

tation, is made of cheap conveyance. The present low prices of cotton wool, and high prices of coffee and sugar, articles which may be brought into the market with less skill and less expenditure of capital, are unfavourable to the rise of the cotton trade. It may be safely predicted, that in a more settled state of the markets of the world, a share of the capital and skill of the inhabitants of Java may be advantageously applied to it. With what advantage this may be done, we can estimate from the comparative costs of raising cottons for foreign exportation in Java, Bengal, Bombay, and Georgia. A picul of Java cotton may be shipped at 12, ordinary Bengal cotton costs $13\frac{5}{10}$, Bombay 17 dollars, and the average of American cotton, for a period of years, and of all qualities, 26 Spanish dollars. China, from its vicinity, will always afford the best market for the cottons of the Indian islands. They may be sent thither for half the freights from Bengal, and probably for one-third of the freights from Bombay. The junks may be employed in conveying it even to a market nearly altogether new, that of the province of Fokien, where the cottons of the continent of India will not interfere with it. At present they convey small quantities thither in *the seed*, a proof of the demand in China for the commodity, as it is reduced by being freed from the seed to one-fourth of its weight with it, and farther re-

duced to one-third of the volume to which hard compression can reduce it by the application of machinery. It follows that the freight paid for it in the seed is twelve times greater than the necessary freight! Exported to China by the junks at twelve Spanish dollars per picul, if properly screwed, and paying L. 2 per ton for freight, it might be sold with a gross profit of near 30 per cent. at twelve tahils. Bombay cotton of the second quality, or Tinnivelly cotton, may be quoted in the market of Canton usually at that price, but in that of Fokien cotton is much higher, not to say that this particular kind of it is in higher esteem.

Before any extensive intercourse took place between continental India, and previous to the late wonderful improvement in the manufacture of the cotton fabrics of Europe, and the enlargement of intercourse between European nations and the Indian islands, the cotton cloths of the latter formed a considerable article of exportation from island to island, the more improved and agricultural tribes, that is to say, those that could, from superiority of soil and industry, grow cotton cheapest and most abundantly, furnishing their neighbours. Such stuffs are all the manufacture of the leisure hours of the women of the country. From the imperfection of the machinery employed, and, therefore, the great quantity of labour expended upon them, they are comparatively

high priced. From the quantity of material they contain, however, and the care with which the thread is spun, they are heavy and durable fabrics. The superiority in cheapness of the fabrics of a refined and improved manufacture over such rude efforts of art, is always in the direct proportion of the quantity of skill which can be expended upon the smallest quantity of material. While the degree of art expended bears but a small proportion to the raw material, that is, when the fabric is coarse and heavy, the cotton fabrics of the islands are nearly as cheap as those of Great Britain. The former become dear in proportion as they become fine, and at last will bear no comparison at all. A picul of clean cotton wool costs in Java about 11 Spanish dollars; a picul of thread 24 Spanish dollars; a picul of blue thread 35 Spanish dollars; the same quantity of good ordinary coloured cloth, 50 Spanish dollars. The spinning costs therefore 118 per cent., the dyeing 46, and the weaving 108. In Bengal spinning is performed with so much more saving of labour, that it costs little more than one half of what it does in Java. In Britain, thread of the fine quality, number 100, is spun at the expence of not more than 30 per cent. on the cost of the raw material, or for 8d. per pound! The raw material in Britain is, at least, 125 per cent. more costly than in Java. It is transported over half the globe,—manufactured by a people

among whom the price of corn is above seven times dearer than where it grew, *—is sent back by the same tedious voyage by which it came,—enters into competition with the manufactures of the country, after paying heavy duties,—and finally drives them out of the markets by its cheapness and superiority. This is one of the proudest and most unquestionable triumphs of the arts and sciences of a civilized people. The principal countries of the Archipelago in which cloth is manufactured for exportation are Java, Bali, and Celebes. More seems to depend on the quality of the raw material than the skill of the manufacturers. The cloths of Celebes are the best, for they are fabricated from the fine cottons of Lamboc, Butung, and Mangarai. The cloths of Java, though cheaper in comparison, are coarser.

Indigo, for reasons stated in the agricultural part of the work, has never constituted an important article of the commerce of the Indian islands. The soil and climate are, indeed, peculiarly well suited to the growth of the plant, but the rude state of native society, and the pernicious principles of European government which have prevailed, have denied

* Calculating rice at *fifteen* Spanish dollars per coyan, or 7s. 5d. per quarter, and flour at 52s. per quarter, the same quantities of each being supposed to go equal lengths as nutriment, on an estimate of the habits and constitution of the two races of men who respectively consume them.

the existence of that skill and capital, without which this delicate product cannot be manufactured.

The coarse drug manufactured by the natives for domestic use is, from a few situations in Java, exported in its liquid form in large jars, for the use of some of the neighbouring tribes, who are themselves incapable even of this rude degree of manufacture. The Dutch, pursuing the usual principles of their system of monopoly, laid several of the provinces of Java under contribution for indigo, fixing the prices much below the natural value; but a complete failure attended the attempt. Indigo, a much more precarious crop than any of those made by them the subject of agricultural monopoly, and requiring much more skill and capital in preparing it for a foreign market, of course sunk at once under the fatal touch of so rude a system. Before the British possession of Java, partial attempts had been made by European adventurers to manufacture a drug suited to the European market, and, as far as the quality of it was concerned, with signal success. In 1813, the quantity manufactured for the European market, or by the European process, did not exceed 20 piculs, or 2720 lbs. avoirdupois. Two English factories have been since established, which already manufacture 300 piculs, or 40,800 lbs. avoirdupois. By a new process pursued in the manufacture, and referred to in the agricultural part of

this work, it is stated that much time is saved, and a drug of uniform quality always obtained. This consists simply in drawing off the fluid from the steeping vats when the first fermentation has taken place, without waiting for a second, which only injures the quality of the *fæcula*, without adding to their quantity. Specimens of this uniform drug are considered by English dyers as equal to good Bengal indigo. It is considered that it is manufactured for about one rupee, or 2s. 3d. a-pound, and might be exported nearly at this price.

Of fruits, *tamarinds* alone constitute an article of foreign exportation. Java is the principal exporting country. The best, which are of a very dark colour, nearly indeed black, and with a very large proportion of pulp to the seed, are the produce of the depending island of Madura. Those exported from one country of the Archipelago to another are merely dried in the sun. Such as are sent to Europe are cured with salt, and packed in tubs, weighing from two and a half to three piculs. The price paid by the resident merchant to the natives is as low as one and a half Spanish dollar the picul. They cost the merchant exporter about three dollars.

Black pepper constitutes a great and valuable article of the exportations of the Indian islands; which, indeed, afford by far the largest portion of what is consumed throughout the world. In the

first intercourse of the Dutch and English with India, it constituted the most considerable and valuable article of their commerce. The production of pepper, as already remarked in the commercial department of this work, is confined to the western countries of the Archipelago, and among these to the islands in the centre and to the northern quarter, including the peninsula. It is obtained in the ports on both sides of the coast of the latter, but particularly the north-eastern coast. The principal staples are *Patani*, *Tringanu*, and *Kălanten*. In *the straits*, a large quantity is produced in the island of *Lingen*, and above all, in Penang, where the capital of Europeans, and the skill and industry of the Chinese, have been successfully applied to its culture. The western *extremity* of Sumatra, and the *north-west* coast of that island, are the most remarkable situations in it for the production of pepper, and here we have *Achin*, Tikao, Bencoolen, Padang, and the country of the Lampungs. The production of the *eastern extremity* of Sumatra or Palembang is considerable, but held of inferior quality. In the fertile island of Java, the quantity of pepper grown is inconsiderable, nor is it remarkable for the goodness of its quality. The south, the west, and the north coasts of the great island of Borneo, produce a great quantity of pepper. Banjarmassin is the most productive place on the south coast, and the state

of Borneo proper on the north coast. The best pepper certainly does not grow in the richest soils, for the pepper of Java and Palembang are the worst of the Archipelago, and that of Penang and the west coast of Sumatra the best. Care in culture and curing improves the quality, as with other articles, and for this reason chiefly it is that the pepper of Penang is more in esteem than that of any other portion of the Archipelago.

The consumption of pepper is not confined to any one country in particular; the whole world is the market for it, with the singular exception of the countries in which it grows, for as with the clove and nutmeg, the Indian islanders hardly ever use pepper for culinary purposes, and the consumption for occasional purposes is extremely trifling.

The natural price of pepper in the Indian islands, or the cost of the labour of growing it, cannot, I think, be fairly estimated at above four Spanish dollars per picul, or 1⅝d. per pound. To the exporter the price has of late years been pretty steadily about nine Spanish dollars, when purchasing it in large quantities at the *emporia* and from the European residents. This difference of price covers the freight, the detention, the risk of imposition, and other accidents which would result from dealing, in the small way, directly with the native trader. More capital and more competition, with tranquil-

lity, confidence, and free trade, will, it may be predicted, reduce, in time, the export price to about six Spanish dollars the picul. A cargo, laid in at nine Spanish dollars per picul, sells in England at the rate of $17\frac{28}{100}$ per picul, or an advance of 92 per cent., and pays the exorbitant and unprecedented impost of 2s. 6d. per pound, or 328 per cent. In China, the same investment sells at an advance of about 90 per cent., and in Bengal at 108¼ per cent., including 10 per cent. duties. The people of England pay for the pepper they consume 332 per cent. more than the Chinese; 294½ per cent. more than the people of Bengal; and 296 per cent. more than the Americans, who pay only a duty of eight cents of a dollar in the pound.

The character of the European intercourse with India, in the different periods of the trade, is illustrated in a most interesting manner, by directing our attention to the history of the pepper trade, of which I shall therefore give a short review. This may be divided into five periods, viz. that early one in which the commodities of the East were conveyed by the numerous channels which I have described in another chapter—that in which the Portuguese principally supplied the market—the short period, during which there was an equal competition in the market between the nations of Europe—the period of the close monopoly—and, lastly, the period of the present free trade. Pepper was

sold in the markets of ancient Rome at the rate of 3s. $5\frac{1}{3}$d. per pound avoirdupois, * which, for convenience of comparison, I shall give, on this and similar occasions, in Indian weights, making Spanish dollars $102\frac{5}{100}$ per picul. At what price this pepper was purchased in Malabar, from whence it *must* have come, cannot be stated, but, from the analogy of modern times, we may probably not err far by saying at $6\frac{17}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul. The advance then would be nearly 1600 per cent. When the Greeks of Egypt facilitated and cheapened the carriage, by a skill and enterprise exceeding that of the Asiatic traders, and still more, when the cheaper and more abundant produce of the Indian islands found its way to Europe, it is probable that this price was greatly reduced.

Munn states the price of pepper in India at $6\frac{17}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul. When it had reached Aleppo, it was enhanced by 860 per cent., or cost $59\frac{25}{100}$ Spanish dollars, and, in the English market, it cost 3s. 6d. per lb. or $103\frac{70}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul, or 75 per cent. on the price at Aleppo, and 1580 per cent. on the first cost, nearly the price it cost to the Romans in the time of Pliny.

In the time of the Portuguese, or about the

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* Arbuthnot's Tables, page 160. Mr Gibbon says it was sold at 10s. per pound.

year 1583, Linschoten informs us that pepper was to be had in the markets of *Sunda Calapa*, the modern Batavia, at from 4 Spanish dollars and 94 cents, to 5 93, and 6 91 cents, or an average of 5 dollars 93 cents per picul. Taking this as the rate in the markets of the Archipelago in the Portuguese times, we find the same pepper selling in the markets on the Caspian at 41 Spanish dollars and three cents, or an advance of 591 per cent. on the prime cost. This price must have been enhanced by the hostility of the Portuguese towards the Arabian and Turkish merchants; and Edwards, agent to the Russian Company, who gives the statement, says, "by the malice of the Turkish merchants." * Pepper was sold in England, towards the close of the Portuguese supremacy in India, in 1592, at 4s. per pound, or $118\frac{51}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul, $14\frac{2}{7}$ per cent. beyond the price it bore before the discovery of the route by the Cape of Good Hope, so that thus far Europe was a loser rather than a gainer by that discovery.

In the short time that the Dutch had a *temporary* monopoly of the pepper trade, by their naval superiority over the Portuguese, and in consequence of the French and English not having yet interfered with them, they raised the prices in Eu-

* Hakluyt, Vol. II. page 391.

rope to 8s. a-pound, or 100 per cent. more than the Portuguese price, and $128\frac{4}{7}$ per cent. above the ancient prices. If they purchased at the prices which the Portuguese did, or at an average of $5\frac{95}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul, they must have sold at the enormous rate of 3895 per cent. advance. This unfair monopoly price accounts at once for the enormous profits, which, in spite of their ignorance, their wars, and their losses, they divided in the early period of their trade.

The competition of the French, Dutch, and English, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, necessarily raised the price of pepper in India. Commodore Beaulieu tells us, that, in 1620, he purchased his pepper, including duties, at 8 Spanish dollars, and 89 cents, on the west coast of Sumatra. When no European competition existed, the price, the same voyager informs us, was, at *Pulo Langkawi*, 4 Spanish dollars and 27 cents the picul. Notwithstanding the higher price paid at this period for pepper, the wholesome effects of competition reduced it in England, according to Munn, from the Portuguese price of 4s. to 1s. 8d. per pound. Shortly after this, pepper again fell in India to its natural price, the growth appearing to have increased, and to have been commensurate with the demand. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, Captain Hamilton states, that the price he paid for pepper at Palembang was three Spanish dollars the

picul, but the pepper of Palembang was in itself not of superior quality, and required *garbling*, so that we may state it at about four dollars the picul. Small quantities of pepper were to be had still lower, and the same author mentions, that he purchased some at Jehor even as low as 2 Spanish dollars and 65 cents. Beeckman, in 1714, laid in a cargo at Banjarmassin at the rate of 4 Spanish dollars and 50 cents, but thinks it ought to have been got much cheaper. After this time, the rigid monopoly of our own East India Company being fully established, as well as that of the Dutch, and the free European traders who had resorted to the Archipelago being excluded, the quantity of pepper grown was diminished, and the price rose from its natural rate to 12 to 14, and even 16 Spanish dollars per picul. From the year 1785 to 1791 inclusive, a period of peace, the average price of pepper in Holland was above 15d. per pound, and in England, from 1s. to 1s. 8d.

Since the establishment of some degree of free trade, the culture of pepper in the Indian islands has revived,—the cultivator obtaining an equitable price for it, and the merchant purchasing it at a fair one. In England, the price has, in consequence of this favourable turn in the trade, fallen below what it was ever known before, and at least to 100 per cent. lower than the last monopoly price, to one-

sixth of the ancient prices, to near one-seventh of the Portuguese prices, and to near one-third of Mr Munn's *boasted* prices, the ground of his estimate of the advantages which the East India Company conferred on the state.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, (1615,) Sir Dudley Digges states the consumption of England in pepper at 450,000 lbs., and Munn (1621) that of all Europe at 6,000,000 of lbs. At present it has increased prodigiously, and perhaps the consumption of England is not less than 1,113,584 lbs., nor that of all Europe than 15,896,000 lbs., the whole having increased since Mr Munn's time, or in about two centuries to nearly two and two-thirds more than it then was.

From these details some interesting and important deductions may be made. The first remark that occurs is, that, as far as pepper, the principal article of exportation from India in the early intercourse of modern Europe with India is concerned, neither Europe nor India gained any advantage by the discovery of the new route by the Cape of Good Hope. The first obtained no better market for its produce, nor did the latter obtain a cheaper commodity. In the ancient intercourse, pepper cost 3s. 6d. per pound,—under the Portuguese it cost 4s. But the mere difference between land and sea carriage cannot be estimated at less than 700 per cent. Supposing pepper, by either route,

to have been laid in in India at the rate of six Spanish dollars the picul, and freight to have actually cost the Portuguese, in the early and imperfect state of their navigation, as high as L. 50 Sterling per ton, or above *six* times the present prices, they ought still, had there been a free trade, to have sold at 7d. per pound. To the difference between land and sea carriage must be added, the superior risk of three sea voyages,—the expences of frequent shipment and trans-shipment, the many arbitrary imposts, in the form of import, transit, and export duties, levied by barbarous states, * with the risk of plunder and depredation in passing through the territories of barbarous hordes. †

Another important remark occurs, that, during the short period in which the Dutch had a monopoly of the pepper trade, the price rose 100 per cent. above what it was in the time even of the Portuguese, and 114⅔ per cent. beyond what it had been before the discovery of the route by the Cape of Good Hope. This shews at once the condition to

* The duties levied by the Soldans of Egypt alone are said to have amounted to *one-third* of the price of the goods at Alexandria.

† "What goods," says the author of the Wealth of Nations, "could bear the expence of land carriage between London and Calcutta? Or, if there were any so precious as to be able to support the expence, with what safety could they be transported through the territories of so many barbarous nations?"—Book I. Chap. III.

which the pepper trade would have been reduced, could any one nation have been able to make a monopoly of it as the Dutch did of the clove and nutmeg trade. That this has not been done as with these two productions, we are not indebted to the wisdom or forbearance of the European policy of the times, but to the impracticableness of effecting so great a mischief. Pepper has a wide geographical distribution, and the inhabitants of the countries in which it grows are compared to the feeble inhabitants of the Spice Islands, so powerful and spirited as to have afforded effectual resistance to a system which was a virtual spoliation of their property.

The third remark which I have to make is on the state of the trade when an active competition existed in it between the Portuguese, French, Dutch, and English. Mr Munn triumphantly proclaims the advantages which England derives from the new trade of the East India Company, of which he was a member, and says that the country obtained spices nearly one-third cheaper than by the old route. It is evident, from what has just been stated of the conduct of the Dutch, that this fall was not owing to the conduct natural to a commercial monopoly, but to the effects of the busy competition which subsisted at the time between the European nations, during which the trade was followed by many of the beneficial conse-

quences of freedom, for the grower at the time was obtaining a higher price than ever he obtained before, and the consumer a much cheaper commodity. The question is not whether it was cheaper than by the old route, but whether it was cheaper in the proportion it ought to have been cheaper. It was sold in England at this time at from 1s. 8d. to 2s., which is nearly as high as it was sold at the same time in the markets on the Caspian, therefore it was sold at a monopoly price still. Supposing it purchased in the markets of India at eight dollars, allowing L. 16 per ton, or *twice* the present price, for freight, and 100 per cent. for profit, it was actually sold for from 108 to 150 per cent. above its natural market price! If pepper was laid in at five Spanish dollars, it ought to have sold for 6d. per pound instead of 9½d. as the above rate of enhancement supposes.

In the last period of the trade, or that of the enlargement of British commerce, the price has sunk to less than one half of the average it had borne in the most favourable periods of the close monopoly, a price beyond which, in times of tranquillity, it is not probable it will ever rise again, but indeed fall much below. This fact speaks for itself, and requires no comment.

The last remark to be offered regards the relative consumption of pepper now and at former times. When the price was 1s. 8d. per pound, the

consumption of all Europe was 6,000,000 lbs. It has continued to increase since that time with the increase of wealth and of consumers; and, in the period before the suppression of the monopoly, when the prices had fallen to one half what they were when Mr Munn's estimate was made, it had increased to 11,218,000 lbs. The price has since fallen to less than 11d. per pound, or about one-third of Mr Munn's price; and, unless pepper be different from all other commodities, we may reckon upon a corresponding increase of consumption. A practical illustration of this established maxim in political economy is afforded by the progressive increase of consumption, in proportion to the fall of prices within the last few years in England alone. In 1814, when the price was 11d. the consumption was only 785,892 lbs.; in 1816, when it was 8½d. it was 944,840; and in 1818, when the price sunk to 7d. the consumption became 1,113,584, or 147 per cent. more than in Mr Munn's time. If it is reasonable to suppose the consumption of other parts of Europe has been in this ratio, the whole consumption at present ought to be about sixteen millions of pounds, or as 8 is to 3 of the consumption two centuries back.

In point of quality, the pepper of the Indian islands is usually reckoned inferior to that of Malabar, but there exists no material difference between them, as between some other colonial productions,

such as cotton, coffee, cloves, &c. In the market of Bengal, where they meet on equal terms, the produce of Malabar usually fetches about 2 per cent. more than that of the Indian islands. In the markets of Europe there is a difference of ½d. a pound in favour of Malabar pepper, but in China no difference whatever is made.

In point of cheapness, the Malabar pepper will bear no comparison with that of the Indian islands. When Malabar pepper is sold in the markets of Bombay, at the rate of 16 Spanish dollars per picul, that of the Archipelago is sold in Batavia at 9 Spanish dollars the picul, or 45 per cent. cheaper. The same rate of difference seems always to have existed. Buchanan tells us, that 120 rupees a candy, or 11 Spanish dollars and 11 cents a picul, are a price too small to enable the cultivators of *Canara* to grow pepper. The Indian islanders can afford to grow it, as already shewn, for 4 Spanish dollars, or for little more than one third of the Malabar prices. * When free European traders received the pepper of the Indian islands at 4 and 5 Spanish dollars the picul, they paid in Malabar $7\frac{6}{100}$ dollars. The Dutch and English com-

* Hamilton, giving an account of *Jehor*, says, "About 300 tons are the common export of pepper, and we have it for almost *one half* of the price we pay for Malabar pepper." *New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. II. p. 156.

panies, in the beginning of last century, paid in Malabar at the rate of $7\frac{48}{100}$ Spanish dollars the picul, while they obtained it in the Archipelago at 3 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ Spanish dollars.

Some loose attempt may be made at estimating the consumption of different countries in pepper. The whole produce of Malabar * is considered to amount to 6000 candies, 28,800 piculs, or 3,840,000 lbs. avoirdupois; considerably less than the little island of Penang produced at one period. The quantity of pepper imported into China by European traders is annually 20,560 piculs, or 2,741,333 lbs. It may be presumed that the junks take as much more, or, in all, 5,482,666. The Dutch send to Japan 30,000 lbs. annually. The quantity, on an average of eleven years, imported into Bengal, was 35,000 Bazar maunds, or 21,000 pi-

* "Black pepper is the grand article of European commerce with Malabar. Before the invasion of Hyder, the country now called the province of Malabar produced annually about 15,000 candies of 640 lbs. The quantity continued gradually diminishing until 1783–4, when Colonel Macleod's army came into the province, since which the decrease has been more rapid, and continues every year to augment."—*Buchanan's Journey*, &c. Vol. II. p. 530. Dr Buchanan ascribes the diminution entirely to disturbances and misgovernment, but I imagine it is more to be attributed to the high cost of growing, and the consequent inability of competing with the produce of the Indian islands.

culs, or 2,800,000 lbs. almost the whole of which is from the Indian islands. The whole quantity sent to Europe is 11,218,000 lbs. The peninsula of India is chiefly, though not entirely, supplied with the produce of Malabar, and so are the countries on the Persian and Arabian Gulf. The countries lying between Siam and China are supplied with their own produce, of which it would be in vain to conjecture the amount. The home consumption of the Indian islands is very trifling.

Coffee, although not a native product of the Indian islands,—but recently known in their commercial history,—and still nearly confined to one island, is one of the most important articles of trade. As mentioned in the agricultural portion of the work, coffee was introduced into Java in the early part of the eighteenth century, to which, with the exception of a small quantity of indifferent produce, grown on the west coast of Sumatra, which occasionally finds its way into the market of Calcutta, it is still confined. The soils and countries in which the coffee and pepper plants thrive are extremely different. The soil which suits coffee must be fertile and good. Pepper is more indiscriminate, and thrives in a much inferior soil. The lands suited for both are at present in such abundance, that they scarcely bear any rent; but scarcity will naturally be first felt in coffee lands, and this circumstance will sooner render coffee high

priced than pepper. At present the labour of raising these two commodities is nearly the same, and, therefore, their price is nearly alike. They occupy the same area of ground, are equally prolific, bear in the same time, and live nearly the same time. Coffee may, I imagine, be raised in Java, with an ample profit to the farmer, at 4 Spanish dollars the picul.

Holland is the principal market of Java coffee, and here it is distinguished into *pale*, *yellow*, and *brown*, varieties which depend on the age of the commodity, and not on the modes of culture, or on any permanent difference in the plants which yield them. The pale coffee is the newest and lowest priced. The brown is the oldest and most esteemed. Coffee stored in Java loses the first year eight per cent., the second about five, and the third about two, after which it continues stationary, and assumes a brown colour. This is the *brown* coffee of commerce. There is a loss of 15 per cent. of weight, and at least two years and a half of the interest of money, and profits of stock upon this commodity. It is probable, therefore, that the brown coffee will disappear from the markets. The Dutch acquired a taste for it during the time in which the coffee used to be tediously and improvidently stored, when the monopoly was in full force. Coffee is an article of colonial produce, the value of the different varieties

of which is in a good measure determined by the taste or caprice of the consumer. In the Dutch market, *pale* or new Java coffee bears the same price as the coffees of St Domingo and Cuba, and is 15 per cent. worse than ordinary West India coffees, *yellow* coffee is 4½ per cent. *better* than Bourbon or even Mocha, and *brown* coffee is 25 per cent. better even than the last. In the London market, the average of Java coffees is 20 per cent. better than Jamaica. Java brown coffee in the London market is nearly on a par, but rather superior to Mocha. In the markets of Bengal and Bombay, Mocha coffee ranks very high, and is no less in the latter than 82 per cent. superior to Java. This relation, however, is only to inferior Java coffee, *triage*, as it is called in commercial language, such only having been sent to Bombay. The whole produce of Java in coffee is 120,000 piculs for the western parts or country of the Sundas, and about 70,000 for the eastern districts, or in all, the picul being 136 pounds avoirdupois, 25,840,000 pounds, which is equal to two-sevenths of the whole produce of the British West Indies, about the nineteenth part of the consumption of Europe, which is reckoned at 54,260 tons, or 486,158,960 pounds avoirdupois. The quantity of land in Java fit to grow coffee is immense, and any scarcity of it cannot be anticipated for many years. Such is its abundance, that it can hardly be

said to pay any rent, or to have any price, whereas in the West Indies, Edwards estimates the price of lands fit for growing coffee at L.2$\frac{1}{7}$ per acre. Under these circumstances, and the cheap rate of labour, the quantity which *might* be grown appears almost interminable. It is only necessary for this, that the culture should be *completely* free and unshackled, and that no injudicious impost should be levied upon it. The existing administration of the colony has made some liberal advances towards such a system, but half enough has not yet been effected, for it may safely be asserted, that a government that understands the ever-inseparable interests of itself and its subjects, has no more to do with the culture or trade in coffee, than in that of bread corn. Under the present management, it is asserted by competent judges, that in five years from the time in which the high prices began to affect the free culture, or 1817, the quantity of coffee which Java will be capable of yielding will not be less than 70,000,000 of pounds, which will equal the production of St Domingo in the year 1790, when its cultivation was carried to the highest pitch under the French.

From the rates at which coffee has been of late years sold in Java, it is impossible to form any opinion of its natural price. The supply of coffee grown in all the countries which produce it has not, in fact, been equal to the demand of the

European market, and until supply and demand be equalized, it will be impossible to ascertain it. Any quantity of coffee might be had in Java in 1812, at 2 Spanish dollars a picul. It rose in 1814, and the following years, to 10, to 15, to 20, to 30, and in the keenness of competition, once reached 37 dollars. If pepper, which so exactly resembles it in the labour necessary to produce it, can be imported into Java, and sold there for 9 dollars; coffee, the produce of the country, not chargeable with freight, ought not, even in the present circumstances of the trade, to exceed eight. In a free and fair state of trade and production, coffee, like pepper, will be grown at 4 Spanish dollars, and 6 Spanish dollars per picul may be considered a fair exportation price, which should cover the risk of the merchant in making advances to the native cultivator, pay him incidental charges, and afford him a good profit. Exported at 9 Spanish dollars the picul, coffee, paying freight at the rate of L.8 per ton, and allowing 50 per cent. for profit, insurance, and incidental charges, might be sold in Europe at about 55s. per cwt., which is nearly the present price of pepper.

The cost of growing West India coffee has been estimated by Edwards at 57$\frac{7}{8}$s. per cwt., or 15$\frac{15}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul, 285$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. higher than the actual cost of growing Java coffee,

157 per cent. higher than I have supposed it practicable for the European resident merchant to export it, and 71½ per cent. beyond the price as estimated by the parallel produce of pepper. We have the price of Mocha coffee from Neibour, who states it, in 1763, as high as 16½ Spanish dollars the picul. * In a state of fair trade, and with equal duties in the markets of Europe, it is evident enough from this, that the produce of the West India islands, or Arabia, would stand no chance of competition with that of Java. The market price of Java coffee is at present regulated, and will continue to be regulated, until the quantity greatly increases, by the prices of the general market. The difference between the cost of growing and bringing to market the coffee of Java, and the dearer produce of other countries, is a premium paid to the cultivator of the former, until his own produce shall begin to regulate the general market.

Sugar is a production for which, like coffee, the Indian islands are indebted to the enterprise and knowledge of Europeans. Java, and Luconia, or Lusong, are the principal places of production. The Chinese residing in Siam have of late years manufactured, indeed, a considerable quantity of excellent quality, which finds its way into the Archipelago, and eventually to Europe. All the sugar

* Description de l'Arabie, Tom. II. p. 52.

manufactured in the Indian islands is of the description called *clayed*. The sugar in manufacturing is formed in pots, the lower part of which being the worst clayed, and the upper the best, this circumstance determines the commodity into two qualities in the market. The manufacture is entirely in the hands of the Chinese. To these the European resident merchants make advances, and the produce is delivered at the end of the manufacturing season. I have already attempted to estimate the cost of growing sugar in Java, and stated it at $2\frac{25}{100}$ Spanish dollars the picul of 136 lbs. The European merchants at present contract with the planters at the following rates:—For the best *white* sugars from five to six and a half dollars the picul of 136 lbs. avoirdupois; and for the *brown* from four to four and a half dollars, or an average for both of five Spanish dollars. It is usually sold to the exporter for about eight dollars the white, and six or seven the brown. These high prices, and a free culture and trade in the commodity, have been, within the last few years, the cause of an immense increase in the culture of the sugar cane. This has been most remarkable in the rich districts of the eastern part of the island. In 1813, the quantity of sugar produced in the central districts did not exceed 10,000 piculs, or $12,142\frac{6}{7}$ cwts. In 1818, it had increased six-fold, or was 60,000 piculs, or $72,857\frac{1}{7}$ cwts. The quan-

tity produced in the *western* districts is 120,000 piculs, or 145,714$\frac{2}{7}$ cwts., and in the eastern *extremity* of the island about 20,000 piculs, or 24,285$\frac{5}{7}$ cwts., making, in all, 200,000 piculs, or 242,857$\frac{1}{7}$ cwts., or 27,200,000 lbs.

The quality of Java sugar will be best ascertained from comparing it with other sugars in the market in which it is best known. When a pound of Java sugar, *mixed brown and white*, sells in the market of Rotterdam for 10$\frac{1}{2}$ groots,

Bengal sells for -	9 groots.
British West India -	9$\frac{1}{2}$
Surinam - -	9$\frac{1}{4}$
Brazil - -	10
Havannah -	14
Manilla - -	10

It may be observed, in respect to the quality of these sugars, that those of Manilla, Java, and Brazil, are nearly equal.

Edwards has estimated the price of growing sugar in Jamaica at 18s. 9d. per cwt., making 22s. 9$\frac{1}{2}$d. per picul. By the estimate I have furnished, this is 123 per cent. dearer than Java sugar. Under a system of colonial policy and government perfectly liberal and free, I should calculate upon good clayed sugar being exported from Java at the

low rate of from three to four Spanish dollars per picul.

The better part of the molasses obtained in the manufacture of the sugar of Java is, in the present abundance of it, nearly wasted, especially in the eastern districts, where no arrack is manufactured. Any quantity may be purchased on the spot where the sugar is manufactured at the rate of half a dollar per picul; and the finest might, were there a market for it, be delivered to the exporter at 4s. per cwt.

The *Arrack*, or spirits manufactured from rice, molasses, and palm wine, is made in large quantities, chiefly for domestic consumption. In former times, it was exported in considerable quantity, particularly to Europe and Madras. The arrack of commerce is of three kinds, which are mere varieties in the strength of the spirit. The leaguer of the highest proof, including duties, is usually sold at from 60 to 75 Spanish dollars, according to the demand, which is 45 cents of a Spanish dollar per gallon, and one of the second at from 45 to 55

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* Hamilton, in 1710, purchased sugar at Japara, the principal place of manufacture at present also, lower than I have here stated it. "I bought," says he, "good white sugar in cakes here for two Dutch dollars per picul, being 140 lbs. English suttle weight."

Spanish dollars, or 33 cents per gallon. It is calculated that the best may be afforded, including duties, for seven Spanish dollars per picul, which is 37 cents, or 20d. per gallon, and the ordinary at 28 cents, or 15d.

The first of the peculiar and most valued of the exports of the Indian islands is the *clove*, of the agriculture of which I have already furnished an ample account. The clove requires very little care or preservation as an article of commerce. It is simply packed in bags weighing 224 lbs. each, and in this state suffers no deterioration from keeping. For two centuries it has now been an article of rigid monopoly in culture and commerce, and during that period sold to the consumer at a price exorbitantly beyond its natural value. As the commerce in it is at present conducted, it is too inconsiderable to deserve much serious attention. It deserves, however, to be inquired, what circumstances have contributed to reduce the trade in an article of elegant and innocent luxury, for which nations of every rank of civilization have an universal taste, to it present insignificant amount, and to point out the means by which the commerce in it may be enlarged, and the natural rights of the grower and consumer restored. We possess abundant facts to enable us to do this, and we have only to apply to them the acknowledged principle, that a free competition alone can insure to

the grower the whole value of his produce, and to the consumer the cheapest commodity. It will be no difficult matter to prove, that the diminished consumption of cloves, which has been absurdly and inconsiderately ascribed to a caprice of fashion, has, in fact, been principally owing to an enhancement of their cost,—that the clove is naturally a cheap and abundant production, and that a free trade in it will be inevitably attended by a great increase of consumption. I shall do this by furnishing a calculation of the natural price of cloves, and corroborate it by a review of the prices of the commodity in the different periods of the trade. The natural price of the clove may be best understood by a comparative statement of the labour of growing it, with that of articles of the same countries, the cost of which has been ascertained by free culture,—pepper and coffee are those articles with which it is most natural to institute a comparison. In the existing relation of land to capital, the lands required for all three afford *no rent*, on account of their abundance. This is more peculiarly applicable to the clove, perhaps, than to the others. An acre of pepper vines will yield 1161 lbs. of clean pepper; an acre of cloves only 375 lbs. If the expence of growing cloves, therefore, were in proportion to the produce of a given area of land, they ought to be nearly three times the price of pepper. This, however, is by

no means the case. The principal labour is in the first culture of the ground, and the planting of the trees. In the culture of clove trees, there is in 75 years only the labour of preparing *one* acre of land, and of planting, rearing, and reaping 75 trees, which will in that time give a produce of 24,750 lbs. In that of pepper, there will be in the same time the labour of the preparation of $3\frac{1}{4}$ acres of land, and the rearing of 5805 vines and props. The produce will be 74,014 lbs.

The relative expence of growing these two products, according to the system of *forced* culture, will afford another means of determining their relative prices. In Amboyna, 50 clove trees are assigned to the care of one man; in Bencoolen 500 pepper vines. The produce of the labourer in the first case is $218\frac{3}{4}$ lbs., and that of the second $203\frac{1}{8}$ lbs. This would seem to imply that the natural price of the clove, the cost of rearing it, is really smaller than that of pepper.

We have a further means of judging of their relative cost by the prices given respectively for them by the monopolists. The real price paid to the cultivator for cloves is $3\frac{1}{4}$d. per lb. avoirdupois, or nearly eight Spanish dollars per picul of $133\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. In Bencoolen there is paid for pepper in all about 4_{10}^{5} per picul.

We may again compare the prices determined by these *data* with the natural market rate of the com-

modity before violence or impolicy interfered with it. The companions of Magellan, in 1521, purchased cloves at the Moluccas at the following rates by barter: For ten yards of *good* scarlet broad cloth they received a *bahar* of cloves weighing 594 lbs. avoirdupois; and for fifteen yards of *middling* cloth the same quantity. If we take the value of the finest broad cloth at 24s. per yard,* we shall have the price of the cloves at nearly 12 Spanish dollars per picul. In 1599, the Dutch, in their first voyage, obtained their cloves in the Moluccas at the rate of $10\frac{91}{100}$ Spanish dollars, which probably included some charges and duties, for, in the following year, regular contracts were entered into as low as $8\frac{89}{100}$ Spanish dollars. The price paid for pepper at this time in the markets of the western part of the Archipelago was 6 Spanish dollars. From all these *data*, we may fairly conclude that the natural price of growing cloves cannot, at all events, be more than 50 per cent. higher than that of growing pepper,—that that price may be about 6 Spanish dollars, and would, in a free state of the market, be to the exporter not more than 8 Spanish dollars.

The clove trade is naturally divided into the *three* following periods,—when it was conducted by the natives through many steps, and reached the distant

* *Wealth of Nations*, Book I. chap. ii.

nations of Europe by precarious voyages and distant land journeys,—when it reached them partly through that channel and partly through the Portuguese by the new route,—when the nations of Europe competed for the commodity in the markets of the Moluccas and of Europe,—and, lastly, when the supremacy of the Dutch was fully established and excluded all competition. In the first period, if we imagine the Arab, Malays, and Chinese, to have purchased clove in the Moluccas at their natural market rate, of 8 Spanish dollars, we may then trace them on their way to Europe. At *Sunda Calapa*, or the modern Batavia, one of the *emporia* at which the traders of the west obtained cloves, Linschoten informs us, that the commodity was to be obtained at from $12\frac{70}{100}$ Spanish dollars to $15\frac{24}{100}$, or at an average of nearly 14 Spanish dollars, which would afford a reasonable profit between the Moluccas and Java in the rude state of commerce and navigation which prevailed. When the cloves, purchased at the *emporia* of the west, had reached as far as the Caspian, and thus made two sea voyages with a tedious, expensive, and dangerous land journey, they cost no more than $91\frac{17}{100}$ Spanish dollars, or were enhanced 551 per cent. * Mumm informs us, that the price of cloves, when they had got as far as Aleppo, was $140\frac{95}{100}$ Spanish dollars,

* Edwards in Hakluyt's Collection, Vol. II. p. 291.

and that the ancient selling price in England, after the voyage from Aleppo to Venice, from Venice to Bruges or Antwerp, and thence to England, was $237\frac{9}{100}$ Spanish dollars, nearly thirty times the prime cost, seventeen times the price at the *emporium* of Sunda Calapa, 160 per cent. on the price at the markets of the Caspian, and 68 per cent. beyond the Aleppo prices. This is, in a few words, a picture of the distant commerce of all other barbarous times.

During the second period of the trade in cloves, or that of the dominion of the Portuguese, very little change appears to have been effected in the price of cloves, for Europe was supplied partly through the Portuguese, and partly with the produce which came over-land, a proof that the Portuguese could not have brought a great deal, or materially interfered with the commerce of the Arabs. The Dutch had hardly established their connection with the Moluccas when they were followed by the English, and both had to compete with the Portuguese, the Chinese, and *native* traders, that is, the Malays, Javanese, and Macassars. The price of cloves, of course, rose, and in 1619, Rumphius * informs us, that the Dutch Governor-General Coen was compelled to allow by contract $18\frac{75}{100}$ Spanish dollars the picul for them, but that this did not satisfy

* Manuscript History of Amboyna.

the natives, who were in the habit of receiving from the English often as much as $18\frac{10}{100}$ Spanish dollars the picul. Munn says, the English paid as high as $22\frac{22}{100}$, but Munn was making out a case for the East India Company, and probably this is an exaggeration.* The same competition, as we have already seen, raised pepper to $8\frac{82}{100}$. The cloves purchased in the Indies at these prices, we are informed by Munn, were sold in England at the rate of $177\frac{10}{100}$ Spanish dollars, or 850 per cent. advance on the highest of these prices. I come now to the last period of the history of the clove trade, that of the close monopoly of the Dutch. This may be said to date from the expulsion of the English, in 1623, and therefore has continued near two centuries. An attempt to impose the monopoly of cloves, in trade and culture, occasioned constant wars and insur-

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* "The Governor, Van Spult, again sent an expedition of war-boats against Loehoe and Cambello, to compel the inhabitants of these districts to cut down their clove trees, as they refused to leave off trading with foreigners, and, as there was no means of preventing them, for, when they knew of any strangers arriving, they would conceal their ships in by places and carry their cloves to them. The English especially *hurt the market* exceedingly, giving for a bahar of cloves from 80 to 100 rix dollars, a price which the natives desired from us also."—Rumphius's Manuscript *History of Amboyna*, Chap. viii.

rections in the Moluccas down to the year 1681, when the Dutch at length established the monopoly to their heart's desire. That they might regulate and control production and price just as they thought proper, the clove trees were extirpated every where but in Amboyna, the seat of their power; and the surrounding princes were bribed by annual stipends to league with them for the destruction of their subjects' property and birthright. This plan was begun about the year 1551.* The contracts are still in force, and an annual fleet vi-

* "Admiral Vlaming," says Rumphius, "having now returned from Banda, and observing, as before stated, that the Company was overstocked with cloves, he longed for an opportunity of rooting up a portion of the clove trees. The existing disaffection seemed to him to afford that opportunity, by means of which the whole produce might be secured to the Company, and the *faithless* inhabitants be prevented from *smuggling*. With this view, he requested the king of Ternate to come to Amboyna, that he might accompany him to Batavia, to take measures with the Governor-General and Council for settling the affairs of the Moluccas. He also proposed to the king that he should cause to be extirpated all the clove trees in his country, as they were the cause of all the *disaffection* which existed, and that he should yearly receive, in consideration of this service, a good sum in money." In another place he says that, on one occasion, at a single gathering, Amboyna alone produced, for the first crop, a rich harvest of two thousand bahars, 1,188,000 lbs. avoirdupois, but that *fortune favoured* the admiral, for the troops sent to ravage the country succeeded in destroying a great many sago and cocoa-nut trees, with 3000 clove trees!

sits the surrounding islands, to suppress the growth of cloves, which, in their native country, spring up, with a luxuriance which these measures of Satanic rigour, and of sacrilege towards bountiful Nature, can scarce repress.

By the plan on which the clove trade is now conducted, a plan carried into effect through so much iniquity and bloodshed, the country of spices is rendered a petty farm, of which the natural owners are reduced to the worst condition of predial slavery, and the great monopolizer and oppressor is that government whose duty it should have been to insure freedom and afford protection. Human ingenuity could hardly devise a plan more destructive of industry, more hostile to the growth of public wealth, or injurious to morals, than this system, framed in a barbarous age; and it reflects disgrace upon the character of a civilized people to persevere in it.

It is curious to remark how the monopolizers, in carrying the details of this system into effect, at once impose upon the natives and deceive themselves. The *nominal* price paid to the natives is actually above the natural price of the commodity, but they are *cheated* in the details. The cultivator brings his produce to the public stores, where it is subjected at once to a deduction of one-fifth, for payment of the salaries of the civil and military officers. The price of the remainder is fixed at

the rate of 9$\frac{60}{100}$ Spanish dollars the picul, but before payment is made, another deduction of one-fifth is made, one half of which is for the benefit of the chiefs or *rajas*, and the other for the native *elders*, who are overseers of the forced culture. The real price, therefore, paid to the grower, is, Spanish dollars 8 per picul, or 3¼d. per pound avoirdupois, instead of Spanish dollars 11$\frac{52}{100}$ per picul, or 4$\frac{6}{8}$d. per pound, which is pretended to be given.

When cloves have been sold on the spot, the price usually exacted has been about 64 Spanish dollars the picul, or eight times the price paid to the cultivator! The average price in Holland, previous to the war of the French Revolution, may be taken at 6s. per pound, or 177$\frac{78}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul, 2122 per cent. advance on the real cost of the commodity in the place of its growth. When brought direct to England, they have cost, on an average, 3s. 8d. the pound, making 108$\frac{64}{100}$ per picul, an advance on the natural export price of 1258 per cent.!

With respect to the quantity of cloves grown and consumed in different periods of the trade, from the nature of the subject, our information cannot be expected to be any thing more than an approximation. Argensola informs us that the *five Moluccas* alone, exclusive of Gilolo, Amboyna, &c. produced yearly, in the time of the Portuguese and Spanish supremacy, 4000 bahars,

or 2,376,000 lb. avoirdupois. He adds a most instructive and important fact, that, when the trade was free, the quantity produced was increased to one-half more, or 6000 bahars, making 3,564,000 lbs. In the year 1631, the quantity yielded by Amboyna was greatly reduced by the depredations of the Dutch, and what was delivered to them was only 1300 bahars, or lbs. avoirdupois 772,497. A great deal more, however, was actually produced, for the natives were naturally disinclined to supply the Dutch, and sold what they could to other strangers. The whole produce at present does not, it is believed, average above 700,000 lbs. The average consumed yearly in Europe, in the period before the Spice Islands fell into the hands of the English, was about 553,000 lbs. During the last British possession of the Moluccas, the average consumption of Europe, on an estimate of five years, from 1814 to 1818, was 365,000 lbs. Of this Great Britain consumed annually 78,000 lbs., of which 70,000 lbs. were the produce of Cayenne. The duty on Molucca cloves during this time in England was no less than 5s. 7½d. the lb., more than twenty fold the price of the commodity where it grows, and making, with the price, the real cost to the consumer thirty-four times that price!

The facts brought forward in these statements are amply sufficient to point out the true causes of

the decline of the clove trade. Production and consumption naturally declined, because, by the arts of the monopoly, the price was so exorbitantly enhanced, that the consumer could not afford to buy. The production of the five Moluccas, which, in the best times, was 3,564,000 lbs. fell, in the early period of the Dutch administration, to 2,316,600 lbs. The consumption of Europe, which, in 1621, was 450,000 lbs., was, on an average, from 1786 to 1791, only 553,000 lbs., and from 1814 to 1818 only 365,000 lbs. It is not enough to say that the price fell *numerically*. It ought to have fallen in the proportion of other articles likely to be substituted for cloves, or likely to supplant them. It ought to have fallen in the proportion of black and long pepper, pimento, ginger, &c. the consumption of all of which has, in the same time, greatly increased. If cloves and pepper were, the one 8s. per pound, and the other 3s. 6d. previous to the discovery of the new route to India, and pepper fell afterwards from competition to 1s. 8d. ; cloves ought to have fallen to 3s. 9½d., instead of which they were 6s. If the clove trade had partaken of the freedom of which the pepper trade has of late years received, when the price of it has fallen to 7d. per pound, cloves ought legitimately to have fallen to 1s. 4d. per pound. It is not true that the actual consumption of cloves has diminished in England, but in reference to

increased wealth and population, it is strictly so. In 1615, it was computed that the consumption of England was fifty thousand pounds, and it is increased, in the present state of wealth and luxury, but by 56 per cent., whereas the increase in pepper is 147 per cent. It would be strange if the case were otherwise, when we advert that, for years back, the actual cost to the consumer, including duty, has been 16 per cent. greater than before the discovery of the route by the Cape of Good Hope, and 55 per cent. more than in the commencement of our intercourse with the Indies!

Besides the cloves of the Moluccas, the Isle of Bourbon, and Cayenne, produce cloves originally brought from the Moluccas, the only part of the world to which the clove is indigenous. The cloves of Bourbon, in the market of Bombay, are 25 parts less valuable than those of the Moluccas, in China 33⅓ per cent., and, in the London market, 10 per cent. If the clove suffered deterioration, as Rumphius and other good authorities assure us, by being merely translated from the *genuine* Moluccas to Amboyna in their immediate neighbourhood, it is not to be expected they should bear a change of several degrees of latitude. The existence of the culture in Bourbon or Cayenne rests entirely on the frail foundation of the existence of the Dutch monopoly in the Indies. The difference between the natural price of the clove in the

Moluccas over the market price of those of Cayenne and Bourbon, is, in fact, a bounty paid to the cultivators of those countries for growing cloves, and cannot be estimated at less than 800 per cent., or 72 Spanish dollars per picul. Setting aside, therefore, a difference of about 25 per cent. of inferiority in their intrinsic values, which they have to struggle against, it is evident that not only free culture and trade, but any *moderate relaxation* of the monopoly in the Moluccas would instantly destroy the clove trade of Cayenne and Bourbon. Down to the year 1815, Bourbon cloves were imported into England under the cover of a protecting duty, but when the duties were equalized, the Bourbon cloves were wholly driven out of the market. Cayenne cloves, until last year, were imported under the same advantages, and will, now that that protection is withdrawn, inevitably share the same fate.

Having rendered a very detailed account of the clove trade, it will not be considered necessary to furnish such ample accounts of the trade in *nutmegs*, which does not essentially differ from it. The production of nutmegs by the perverse arts of the monopoly is confined, as mentioned in treating of their agriculture, to the small cluster of the Banda Isles, and the quantities produced for commercial purposes elsewhere are very limited. The produce of the nutmeg tree, as it is presented in

commerce, is less simple, or of a more complex character than that of its sister tree; and as this circumstance is intimately connected with its commercial history, and with any inquiry into its relative price with other commodities, some analysis of it will be necessary. The dried produce of a nutmeg tree consists of nutmeg, mace, and shell. In 15 parts of the whole produce there are 2 parts of mace, 5 of shell, and 8 of nutmegs; or in 100, $13\frac{1}{3}$ of mace, $33\frac{1}{3}$ of shell, and $53\frac{1}{3}$ of nutmegs. The proportion which the shell bears to the nutmeg, which it envelopes, is as 5 is to 8, which is $38\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of shell, and $61\frac{1}{2}$ of nutmegs. The proportion which the mace bears to the nutmeg is as 1 is to 4. In the ancient commerce, and down to the establishment of the Dutch monopoly, nutmegs were always sold and transported in the shell, and the natives, when the commerce is left to their management, continue this practice. When, therefore, we hear that in the early period of modern European intercourse, a picul of nutmegs cost only $6\frac{7}{100}$ Spanish dollars, we must understand it of nutmegs in the shell, and the clean nutmeg would be, independent of the labour of freeing the nuts from the shell, $9\frac{7}{100}$ Spanish dollars. It seems to have been one of the recourses of the Dutch monopoly, with the view of securing the more effectually an entire monopoly of the nutmeg trade, to free the nuts from

the shell, and otherwise subject them to such processes as would destroy the powers of germination. These processes, as mentioned already, consist of a slow kiln-drying and smoking for three months, and immersion in a mixture of quick-lime and salt-water, with drying, which require near two months longer. This factitious system of curing the nutmegs is attended with the greatest waste and inconvenience. According to the old and natural process of curing the nuts in their shell, and which requires but a short and hasty kiln-drying, the fruit is effectually secured from the depredation of insects; no tropical product is more hardy, and it is fit for stowage in bulk, without any package or protection, but its hard and impenetrable shell. On the other hand, the moment the fruit is extricated from the shell, it becomes one of the most perishable of productions. A peculiar insect, called by Europeans the nutmeg fly, attacks it, and the immersion in caustic lime but imperfectly protects it against its depredations. * Owing to the

* "The history of the nutmeg insect," says Mr Hopkins, in the manuscript report formerly quoted, "if fully known, would be curious, and might probably afford the means of guarding the fruit against its depredations. This much is known with certainty, that so long as a nutmeg, after being well dried, is kept in its shell, it is secure against the insect, though length of time may occasion it to lose its flavour, or

loss of the shell, the natural and only effectual protection of the nutmeg, great numbers are lost. When, in the year 1810, the British conquered the Spice Islands, there were found in store the enormous quantity of 37,184 lbs. of nutmegs, mouldered into dust and quite useless. The quantity of broken, bad, and rotten nutmegs, cannot be estimated at an average, according to the present management, at less than 10½ per cent. of the fruit as it comes from the tree, so that the true proportions, in the view of productiveness, will be as follows in 100 parts:

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moulder into dust. If the nutmeg, after the shell has been taken off, be left for some time unlimed, the following appearances will present themselves,—a small hole at the side or base of the nut, never, I believe, at the apex, out of which a hard cased black fly may be seen to spring, or there will be a quantity of minute dust, which, upon examination, will be found to consist of very diminutive insects engendered in the nut, and already successful in destroying its interior substance. Many nutmegs apparently sound, and when minutely inspected, exhibiting no trace of a hole on the surface, will, on cutting them open, be found to contain a small white maggot. All the different stages of the progress of the animal may be traced, and will render it evident that the fly did not enter the ripe fruit. It follows, therefore, that the egg must have been deposited in the flower, and that the animal grows with the growth of the nut, requiring the removal of the shell, and the action of the external air to bring it to perfection."

Shell - - -	38½ parts.
Broken and rotten nuts	10½
Good nuts - -	51
	100

An argument in favour of freeing the nutmegs from the shell, which at first view appears plausible, is the saving of freight or carriage, by diminishing the bulk and weight by 38½ per cent. But this argument is easily answered. The packages or tare of the nutmegs, according to the present management, are 25 per cent. of the whole amount, so that the apparent saving in this respect is but 13½ per cent., against which is to be balanced the expence of the packages, which are brought to the Moluccas from Java, as they must be made of teak, the only wood of the islands found to answer,—at least four months loss of time, with the labour of curing the nuts, the cost of the materials employed, and the effects of the depredation of the insect. There can be no doubt that the cost of bringing the nutmeg to market, therefore, is very greatly enhanced by the injudicious practice of freeing them from the shell, and this is satisfactorily proved by a comparison of the relative prices of the clove, the mace, and the nutmeg, in the early state of the commerce, before the present mode of treating the nutmeg was adopted, with the

existing prices. In the first periods of our commerce, the average price of the nutmeg to the clove was as 100 is to 290, or 65⅞ per cent cheaper. At present the case is reversed, and the relative prices are as 100 is to 47, or 113 per cent. dearer. This factitious and unnatural price, however, is far from being, as will be presently seen, altogether attributable to the blunder made in curing the nutmegs, but is in a great measure also owing to a rigour of monopoly, and a restricted production in culture and trade in the nutmegs grown by the hands of a few slaves, which could not be carried to so pernicious an extent with the clove, cultivated by the numerous and comparatively free population of Amboyna. The intelligence, which is engendered by free commerce, would render such observations as these superfluous; but it belongs to the imbecility which is the inseparable character of commercial monopoly, to require a perpetual tutoring and direction even towards accomplishing its own narrow objects.

The mace requires no such preparation as the nutmeg, simple exsiccation in the sun rendering it at once fit for the market.

The natural price of rearing nutmegs, and bringing them to market, in a state of free trade and culture, may be ascertained without much difficulty. A picul of long nutmegs in the shell, the natural expence of growing which is exactly the same as

that of the round nutmeg, may be had in the markets of the eastern parts of the Archipelago for four Spanish dollars, or 15s. $1\frac{1}{2}$d. per cwt.; and further to the west, as at Bali, at five Spanish dollars, or 18s. $10\frac{3}{4}$d. per cwt. Freed from the shell, this is, for the first, $5\frac{51}{100}$ Spanish dollars the picul, or 20s. $11\frac{1}{4}$d. per cwt.; and for the second, $6\frac{95}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul, or 26s. $2\frac{1}{4}$d. per cwt. There is a striking accordance between these prices and those paid when the trade was free, if we advert that the former is enhanced by the charges incident to the risk of smuggling, and receive a bounty from the exorbitant cost of the monopoly product. In the first Dutch voyage, when the Hollanders competed with the Portuguese, the Chinese, and the native traders of the western portion of the Archipelago, they paid no more for their nutmegs than $1\frac{19}{100}$ Spanish dollar per picul, or 4s. 6d. per cwt., which makes the cost of the clean nutmegs $1\frac{95}{100}$ Spanish dollar per picul, or 7s. $3\frac{1}{2}$d. per cwt. At *Sunda Calapa*, the modern Batavia, where nutmegs were brought by the Javanese for the convenience of the Arabs, the Hindus, and Mahomedans of Western India, Linschoten tells us, that the cost of nutmegs in the shell was no more, at an average, than $2\frac{88}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul, or $1\frac{1}{6}$d. per lb., or 10s. $10\frac{3}{4}$d. per cwt., which reduces the clean nutmeg, exclusive of the petty charge of husking them, to no

more than 4$\frac{63}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul, 1$\frac{7}{8}$d. per lb., or 17s. 6d. per cwt. As an argument in favour of the monopoly, it has been sometimes asserted, although not much insisted upon, that its care and vigilance are necessary towards supplying the consumer with good spices. That there is as little meaning as possible in such an assertion may readily enough be shewn. There was the greatest comparative consumption of spices when the monopolists had nothing at all to do with them; and, as far as nutmegs are concerned, those nutmegs must surely have been well enough cured which could withstand, in a rude period of navigation, many careless sea voyages, long land journeys, and all the alternations of heat and cold to which they were necessarily subjected. Were nutmegs, as at present preserved, submitted to the same trials, but a small portion of them indeed would reach the distant market of Europe.

In treating of the clove, I have endeavoured to ascertain its natural price, and fixed it at about six Spanish dollars per picul, or 2$\frac{1}{2}$d. per pound; or, stored for export, eight Spanish dollars per picul, or 3$\frac{1}{4}$d. per pound. The natural price of the nutmeg is much lower; and from the data already adduced we may conclude, that, in a state of free trade, it ought not to exceed four Spanish dollars per picul; or, ready for exportation, six Spanish dollars per picul, or 2$\frac{1}{2}$d. per pound. The true

price in Europe ought not to exceed 6d. a pound, but it has very generally been twelve times as much, and in England, including duties, seventeen times as much. The consumer pays this price, we need not scruple to say, for no other purpose than that a political juggle may be played, by which the party who plays it imposes upon itself, without gaining any earthly advantage, while the grower is cheated out of his property and out of his liberty.

The same quantity of labour producing four times as much of nutmegs as mace, the natural price of the mace ought to be four times the price of the nutmegs. The market price, of course, occasionally varied from this, but, in general, we find an approximation to it. In the first Dutch voyage, nutmegs appear to have been at a wonderfully low rate, and to have cost no more than one-sixth part of the price of mace. Linschoten's prices at Sunda Calapa in 1583, I imagine, are more to be relied on, and here the mace is described as costing very nearly three times as much as nutmegs; but in this estimate we are to reckon in the nutmeg the cost of transporting, 38½ per cent. of useless shells, which may be considered as the *tare* of the article. At the markets on the Caspian, the relative prices approximated still more from the same cause; and here we find the mace valued at no more than 80 per cent. above the price of the nutmeg.

In order thoroughly to comprehend the nature

and history of this branch of the spice trade, a review of the prices of the nutmeg and mace in Europe, in different periods of the trade, will be necessary. The ancient price of nutmegs in England, before the discovery of the route by the Cape of Good Hope, was 133⅓ Spanish dollars per picul, or 4s. 6d. per pound, and of mace 266⅔ Spanish dollars per picul, or 9s. per pound. The price of nutmegs in England two centuries ago was 74$\frac{7}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul, or 2s. 6d. per pound, and of mace 177$\frac{7}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul, or 6s. per pound. The prices in Holland, when the Dutch were in full possession of the monopoly, was for nutmegs 303 Spanish dollars per picul, or 10s. 3½d. per pound, and for mace 903 Spanish dollars per picul, or L. 1, 10s. 5½d. per pound. It is no wonder that such enormous charges should diminish the consumption. During the years 1803, 1804, and 1805, nutmegs sold in England for 309 Spanish dollars per picul, or 10s. 5½d. per pound. At present the price, exclusive of duties, is 5s. per pound for nutmegs, and 8s. per pound for mace, or including duties, 7s. 6d. for the one, and 11s. 6d. for the other.

The alleged consumption of Europe in the different periods of the trade is next to be considered. In the year 1615, the consumption of England in nutmegs was reckoned at 100,000 lbs., and of mace 15,000 lbs. Two centuries ago, Mr

Munn estimates the consumption of all Christendom in the first at 400,000 lbs., and in the second at 150,000 lbs. During the middle of last century, the consumption of Europe had fallen in nutmegs to 250,000 lbs. On the first occasion that the monopoly fell into the hands of the English, the consumption of England, on an average, was 39,071 lbs. in nutmegs, and 5400 lbs. in mace. In all Europe it fell in nutmegs to 85,960 lbs. and in mace to 24,234 lbs. During our last possession of the spices, the consumption of England in nutmegs was 56,960 lbs., and of all Europe 214,720 lbs., and in mace, of England, 3620 lbs., and of all Europe 250,040 lbs. The facts now adduced are quite sufficient to enable us to decide, as far as the produce of the nutmeg tree is concerned, how it has come about that the consumption of spices is smaller in Europe at present than in the middle ages, while the commodity is less costly. The arguments used to explain this apparently anomalous fact in regard to the clove are necessarily still more applicable to the more costly mace and nutmeg. It is not, however, strictly true, even abstractly, that the charge of these two spices has actually become less since the discovery of the new route. The truth is, that men have acted, with regard to them, as with regard to other commodities. The monopoly price has had its limit. People have ceased to consume the finer spices, and had recourse to sub-

stitutes. Black pepper and ginger have taken their place; but above all, perhaps, the pimento and Chili commodities, unknown to Europe before the discovery of America, and of the route by the Cape of Good Hope. Had the finer spices, articles for which we know there is an ingenerate taste in almost every race of men, not been rendered, by the foolish arts of the monopoly, inaccessible, the coarser and less agreeable spiceries never would have been had recourse to, no more than men would, unless compelled by necessity, consume Port wine in preference to claret, or malt liquor and spirits in preference to the former. The cases are exactly parallel. The finer spices are now by necessity confined to the rich few; and, as articles of commerce, or subjects of revenue, are, of course, of very little consequence. If any additional proof of this being the true explanation were required, it is afforded in this striking and remarkable fact, that the greatest diminution of consumption has been in the most costly spices. The diminution in the consumption of cloves has only been 19 per cent.; in nutmegs it has been 46½, and in mace 83⅓ per cent. In 1621, the consumption of mace to nutmeg was as 37½ is to 100; in 1790, as 33⅓ is to 100; in 1803, as 28⅓ is to 100; and, from 1814 to 1818 inclusive, as 11⅔ is to 100.

It may not be without its utility to offer, in this place, a few speculations on the best means of

restoring the spice trade to its natural state. To render this intelligible, it will be necessary to premise a very short sketch of the culture and trade in nutmegs, as conducted under the monopoly regulations, and of the attempts made to extend the culture beyond the limits of the native country of the nutmeg tree. The clove tree is cultivated by the aboriginal inhabitants of Amboyna, but the nutmeg by the hands of slaves, imported into the Banda isles for this express purpose by the Dutch. The inhabitants of the little cluster of the Banda islands made the earliest and most spirited resistance to the establishment of the monopoly, but being few in number, and their country open to the military operations of the European power, they were completely subjugated; and, in the year 1620, it was the hard fate of the few who survived the struggle to be expatriated. To keep up the cultivation of the nutmeg plantations, the Dutch made a sort of sale of them to invalided European soldiers, and other adventurers of their own nation, whose descendants, an indolent, ignorant, idle, and dissipated class of men, are the present possessors. Under these persons are placed the slaves, about 2000 in number, who till the soil and cure the spices, natives of some of the surrounding islands. The number of children to a marriage among them is no more than *two*, whereas, among the free population of Amboyna, it is *three*; and the annual

deaths are *one* in twenty-two, equal to that of the most unhealthy towns of Europe ; so that the stock must be kept up by annual importations. The conditions of the landed tenures of the proprietors, or *park-keepers*, as they are with more propriety termed, were, that they should deliver their produce to the government, and to government only, at certain fixed rates, and that the government should supply them with slaves and necessaries at stipulated prices, while these nominal proprietors were liable to be dispossessed by the local authorities of the government on the most trifling pretext, as for *neglect* or *disrespect*, offences of which the accuser was to be the sole judge ! The prices paid to the cultivator for spices have varied from time to time. The first prices established were—for nutmegs, $0\frac{1}{2}$d. per pound avoirdupois, or Spanish dollars $\frac{81}{100}$ per picul ; and for mace, $0\frac{4}{5}$d. per pound ; or Spanish dollars 2 per picul. These wonderfully low prices were soon found inadequate, and the government were by necessity compelled, from time to time, to raise them. The actual prices paid at present, on the average of nutmegs of all qualities, is $3\frac{1}{2}$d. per pound, or Spanish dollars $9\frac{15}{100}$ per picul ; and of mace $9\frac{3}{4}$d. per pound, or Spanish dollars 24 per picul. We have here another decided testimony in proof of the pernicious effects of the monopoly. The price now voluntarily paid is far greater than the Dutch were *compelled* to pay when, in their

first intercourse, they traded on terms of equality and justice, the nutmegs being near five times as dear, and the mace more than double. This is the nature of the retribution, considered in a mere mercenary view, which has fallen upon them for the double crime of exterminating the native inhabitants, and introducing the labour of slaves.

The entire monopoly of the spice trade is ensured, both as far as regards the production of the nutmeg as well as the clove tree, by confining the first, as already stated, to the Banda isles, and the latter to Amboyna—by paying little stipends to the petty princes of the other native countries of spices for the extermination of the plants,—by sending an annual fleet round the different islands, to see that the terms are literally complied with,—and by declaring the penalty of what they are pleased to call the illicit trade in spices to be *banishment* to a noble, and *death* to an inferior person! Such is the system of mismanagement by which, once the greatest branch of the commerce of the East, has been reduced to a pittance that would by no means afford employment to the capital of many private merchants of London, Glasgow, or Liverpool. Our nation was thirteen years in possession of the Spice Islands, and twice restored them, without alteration in the principle on which they were governed, to those who had reduced them to their present state of degradation and insignificance.

The possession of the Spice Islands, in 1796, put it in the power of the English to obtain what they had long anxiously desired, spice plants, for the purpose of propagation in their own settlements, and the nutmeg has been tried in Penang, Bencoolen, and some of the West India islands. In the latter it has altogether failed, or has failed, at least, to all useful purposes. Within the Archipelago, the culture, as far as the quality is concerned, has been attended with somewhat more success than that of the clove, and very good nutmegs are now raised both at Penang and Bencoolen, but the cost of bringing them to market is so high, that the restoration of a free culture, in the native country of the nutmeg, would instantly destroy this unstable and factitious branch of industry. The planters of Bencoolen assert that they cannot grow nutmegs under 2s. 6d. per pound, or 74⅔ Spanish dollars per picul, which, to be sure, is 44½ per cent. cheaper than the monopoly prices at which nutmegs have been sold in the Spice Islands, but is, at the same time, 2000 per cent. dearer than the estimated natural cost. The bounty, therefore, paid to the planters of Bencoolen, for growing their nutmegs, is the enormous difference now stated. It would be needless to add more. It would, I imagine, be as vain an attempt to grow the grapes of Champagne or Burgundy in Normandy or England, as to grow

the clove and nutmeg trees, in perfection, in any land out of the limits of their natural soil. After these preliminary remarks, we shall be prepared to offer some observations on the measures which ought to be taken to restore to the people of the Moluccas their just rights, and bring the spice trade back to its natural and wholesome condition. We may begin by admitting, that the existing plantations, both of clove and nutmeg trees, however unjustly obtained, are the property of the state. This, of course, applies only to the trees in actual existence. The land, where land is so abundant in proportion to capital and population, is of no value. The existing plantations should therefore be let for a period of years, by the competition of a public sale, to the highest bidder. This would determine, in the most equitable manner, the rent of the plantations. The rights of the proprietors of the nutmeg parks would be secured, by assigning to them the highest rate of compensation which an estimate of their existing profits could afford. The slaves should, it is hardly necessary to insist, be immediately and completely emancipated. Both the culture and trade in spices should, with these measures, be declared completely free, not only in the islands to which the spices are at present confined, but wherever, without exception, the inhabitants of the country might find it for their advantage to direct their industry either to grow-

ing them or trading in them. It may be asked, in what manner the ruling authority would be compensated for the sacrifice of so many privileges? It would be compensated by the increase of industry which freedom would produce. Foreigners from Western India, from China, and from Europe, would flock to the favoured land of spices as traders and as settlers, and where wealth existed, the government of these islands, of whatever nation, would not want, what no government has ever wanted, the means of appropriating a share of that wealth for the exigencies of the state. The duties upon trade would necessarily constitute the most important branch of revenue. From the superior protection and security which European institutions are sure to confer beyond native ones, the lands would acquire a value, and the rate of the unappropriated ones would, of course, become a respectable source of revenue. This would insure at least as large a revenue as the existing system, which, it is now well known, was not only no source of commercial profit, but, for many years, was inadequate to defray the bare expences of the local establishments necessary to enforce it. The advocates of monopoly have objected to any attempt to ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants of the Moluccas, by restoring to them their natural rights, that they would be incapable of exercising any rational freedom of conduct in their

own affairs, and would not consider their emancipation as a boon, but an injury. This futile and selfish reasoning hardly deserves serious attention. If this were true, it would convey the most unmeasured censure on a system which could so wonderfully debase their character, for the same men fought and bled for a century together for those very rights which they would now be represented as rejecting. But, in truth, the inhabitants of the Moluccas are at this day most anxious for a free trade, as the pains and penalties of the monopoly regulations sufficiently declare. In spite of the confiscation of property, and the penalties of banishment and death, there are annually smuggled from the Banda Islands no less than 60,000 lbs. of nutmegs, and 15,000 lbs. of mace.

I shall be held excused for the length at which I have treated of the spice trade, although more than commensurate with its present importance, when the peculiarly severe lot of the natives of the Moluccas, from the earliest intercourse of Europeans with them down to the present times, is considered. Under the influence of principles the most unjust, fallacious, and unprofitable, they have for two centuries been subjected to, a scourge upon industry, of which, for severity, there is no other example in any age or climate. The delusion which led to this system still continues to influence the policy of the European nations; and it is re-

markable, that, notwithstanding the establishment throughout other parts of the Dutch Indies, of a system of administration in principle the most free and enlightened ever acted upon in the East, the Spice Islands, by a singular fatality, were expressly excluded from its benefits.

The whole produce of the Banda Islands in nutmegs at present is 600,000 lbs., or 4500 piculs; and of mace 150,000 lbs., 1125 piculs. Europe, China, Bengal, and America, are the principal markets. The civilized tribes of the Archipelago consume nothing but the long nutmeg, which they receive in the shell, and many of these also are exported to Western Asia and Hindustan.

If the consumption should increase, as it inevitably will in a free trade and free cultivation, spices will become a more extensive article of consumption than they ever were before; and in a very few years we should see the spice trade become in reality an important branch of commerce.

Besides black pepper and the precious spiceries there are several of inferior value which are objects of foreign commerce. These in the order of their importance are, long pepper, cubeb pepper, clove bark, misoy bark, ginger, turmeric, and *cayu-puti* oil. These are too inconsiderable as objects of commerce to be dwelt upon at any length. Long pepper may be purchased in Java at 30 per cent. below the price of black pepper, and the cubebs at

the same rate. The turmeric of Java is of high estimation in the markets of Europe, ranking next to that of China, and being much superior to that of Bengal. The principal value of the clove bark, as an article of exportation, is for its oil, which differs little from that of the clove itself. *Cayuputi* oil, the essential oil of a species of myrtle, growing in the country of spices, has become of late years a favourite medicine as an external application. It has been sold on the spot for the high price of five Spanish dollars the quart; but this is not the natural cost of the commodity, and is caused only by the difficult intercourse of the trading world with the countries which produce it.

Betel-nut, or *areca*, *gambir*, and *tobacco*, are articles of extensive traffic. All the countries of the Archipelago respectively produce enough of areca for their own domestic consumption, but it is only the western countries, and especially the west coast of Sumatra, where Pedir is the most remarkable place, that the areca is in such abundance as to be an article of foreign exportation. The *areca* of commerce is of two kinds; that which is dried carefully without being split, and that which is split and more hastily dried. The first is the most valuable, and its common price at Pedir, which produces for exportation about 40,000 piculs annually, is from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ of a Spanish dollar per picul. At this price it is purchased by the

European traders of Penang, who dispose of it from their warehouses at an advance of from 100 to 200 per cent. It is principally carried to China and Bengal, bringing, in the market of Canton, an average price of $3\frac{75}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul; and in that of Calcutta $4\frac{27}{100}$ Spanish dollars, an advance on the prime cost in the one of 50 per cent., and in the other of 70 per cent. An article so cheap, and so little perishable, might, perhaps, be imported into Europe, and used with advantage in the dyeing of our cotton goods, a purpose to which it is converted in Coromandel and Malabar. The betel-nut of the Indian islands is grown cheaper than that of Malabar by no less than $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent., or is no more than one-third of its price.

Gambir, or *Terra Japonica*, as mentioned in the account given of its agriculture, is the production of the western portions of the Archipelago, from whence it is a great article of exportation to the eastern, and especially to Java. It is also sent to China. The price of the commodity to the traders, who export it from the places of its growth, is from three to four Spanish dollars per picul. It usually sells in Java at six, and when the market is understocked, often as high as eight Spanish dollars. Such fluctuations of price we must reckon to meet with in countries between which the communication is still uncertain, because unskilfully conducted.

Tobacco has been already fully described in the agricultural department of the work, and in this place it will only be necessary to offer a few remarks on the trade in it. Small quantities of tobacco are every where grown for domestic consumption, but a rich soil and considerable agricultural skill being necessary to produce it in quantity and perfection, it is an article of foreign exportation only in a few situations. These situations are Lusong, Majindanao, but especially Java. This latter country, besides its o wn internal supply, exports an immense quantity to Borneo, Sumatra, the Malayan Peninsula, Celebes, and the Spice Islands. The whole quantity exported is 5,000,000 lbs. The tobacco of Java, as it appears in commerce, is, as mentioned in another place, divided into three kinds, collected from the same plants,—the upper, middle, and under leaves, constituting respectively tobacco of the *first*, *second*, and *third* qualities, the prices of which on the spot may be reckoned in order at 5d., 3d., and 1¾d. per lb. It would be difficult to institute any comparison between these prices, and those of the tobaccos of other countries, from the nature of the preparation which the Java tobacco undergoes, which is finely shred, well dried, and freed from the mid-rib, a state in which other tobaccos do not appear in the markets. It is to be observed, that, in the present state of agri-

cultural industry, when dressings are never applied to inferior lands to fit them for growing tobacco, the growth of the plant is necessarily restricted to a few favoured spots, which consequently pay an enormous rent to the landlord, by which the price of tobacco is necessarily enhanced. At the same time, the state of commercial intercourse, the peculiar preparation of the drug, and the long established prejudice of the consumer in its favour, contribute to give the Javanese commodity a monopoly of the market, and to exclude the competition of foreign produce. This naturally accounts for its high price, compared to the raw produce of the same soil.

Java tobacco, as it appears in commerce, is prepared by the Chinese, who pack it very neatly in little parcels of a few ounces in Chinese paper, which is stamped with their seals. A certain number are contained in a basket, which are sold by *kodis*, corges, or scores, one of which weighs 1100 lbs. avoirdupois. The cost at the market of Samarang, after payment of inland duties, and charged with the heavy cost of transport on men's shoulders, over sixty or seventy miles of difficult road, may be reckoned, for the lowest sort, 40 Spanish dollars, or 18s. 4d. per cwt.; for the second sort, 80 Spanish dollars, or 36s. 8d.; and for the first, 120 Spanish dollars, or 55s. per cwt.

Of *drugs* and *perfumes*, a considerable number

are objects either of domestic and foreign commerce, or both. The principal are camphor, benzoin, lignum aloes, dragon's-blood, sassafras, sapan wood, and morinda. The camphor of Sumatra and Borneo is divided in commerce into three *sorts*, according to quality, the relative values of which to each other may be estimated in the proportions of 25, 14, and 4. The price of this article depends upon the factitious value which the Chinese attach to it, and to its limited production in nature. A pound avoirdupois of the best kind usually sells in China at the exorbitant price of about $18\frac{75}{100}$ Spanish dollars, or L. 4, 4s. $4\frac{1}{2}$d., while the camphor of Japan, which does not apparently differ from it, and is equally esteemed every where else, sells for the 78th part of this amount, or costs no more than 1s. 1d. per pound. The best camphor is purchased at *Barus*, in Sumatra, always the emporium of the commodity, and which strangers usually affix to its name, at about 8 Spanish dollars per *catti*, or 27s. per pound, which, it is remarkable enough, is nearly the price assigned to it by Beaulieu in the first French voyage to the Archipelago two centuries back.

Benzoin, or frankincense, called in commercial language Benjamin, is a more general article of commerce than camphor, though its production be confined to the same islands. Benzoin is divided in commerce, like camphor, into three *sorts*, ac-

cording to quality, the comparative value of which may be stated in figures as follow, 105, 45, 18. Benzoin is valued in proportion to its whiteness, semi-transparency, and freedom from adventitious matters. According to its purity, the first sort may be bought at the *emporia* to which it is brought at from 50 to 100 dollars per picul, the second from 25 to 45, and the worst from 8 to 20 dollars. According to Linschoten, benzoin, in his time, cost, in the market of Sunda Calapa, or Jacatra, from $19\frac{5}{100}$ to $25\frac{40}{100}$ Spanish dollars the picul. By Neibuhr's account, the worst benzoin of the Indian islands is more esteemed by the Arabs than their own best *olibanum*, or frankincense. In the London market, the best benzoin is fourteen times more valuable than *olibanum*, and even the worst $2\frac{1}{2}$ times more valuable. Benzoin usually sells in England at 10s. per lb. The quantity generally imported into England, in the time of the monopoly, was 312 cwts. The principal use of this commodity is as incense, and it is equally in request in the ceremonies of the Romish, the Mahomedan, the Hindu, and Chinese worships. It is also used as a luxury by the great in fumigations in their houses, and the Javanese chiefs are fond of smoking it with tobacco. Its general use among nations in such various states of civilization, and the steady demand for it in all ages, declare that it is one of those commodities the taste for which

is inherent in our nature, and not the result of a particular caprice with any individual people, as in the case of Malay camphor with the Chinese.

Lignum aloes, a half rotten and unctuous wood, which, in burning, emits a fragrant odour, is a perfume or incense much in request in all the countries of the East, and forms an article of trade in the Indian Islands, where it makes its appearance in commerce without its being absolutely certain that it is a production of the country.

Dragon's-blood is the produce of a large species of rattan growing on the north and north-east coast of Sumatra, with some parts of Borneo, and chiefly manufactured at Jambi, Palembang, and Banjarmassin. Considerable quantities of it are sent to Europe, to China, to India, and to Arabia. The price at Banjarmassin in Borneo, where large quantities are manufactured, is, according to quality, from 50 to 70 Spanish dollars per picul, or an average of L. 11, 6s. 9½d. per cwt. In the London market we find it quoted at L. 34 per cwt., or about 200 per cent. advance on that cost.

Damar, the species of rosin which has been already described in the agricultural branch of this work, is a very large article of commerce, foreign as well as domestic. Under this native name, it is well known in the markets of Bengal and China, where this abundant and spontaneous production

is much used in paying the bottoms of ships and vessels. In Borneo it is obtained in larger quantities on the coasts, being floated down the rivers as a drift during the periodical floods to the sea, and afterwards cast ashore by the winds and currents. By a previous arrangement, almost any quantity may be procured by the trader at the low rate of half a dollar a picul. It can be imported and sold in the market of Calcutta as low as two rupees four anas per maund, or 8s. 1d. per cwt. cheaper than Stockholm pitch in the London market. According to Dalrymple, the island of Palawan yields gum copal, which the natives call *Tinju*. Fifty piculs of it may be had annually.

The *sandal-wood* of the Indian Islands is considered inferior to that of Malabar; yet no distinction is made between them in the market of China. The highest perfumed wood is that nearest the root of the tree; and, for this reason, the largest billets are the highest priced. The sandal-wood of Timur, and the other easterly islands, from whence, for the convenience of the markets, it is imported into Java, costs there, according to its quality, from 8 to 13 Spanish dollars per picul. This, making no allowance, however, for inferiority of quality, is 45 per cent. cheaper than the Malabar sandal-wood.* In China, the great market

* *Buchanan's Mysore*, Vol. II. p. 537.

for this commodity, the wood is sorted into three classes, which bear the following relative values expressed in figures, 24, 22, and 17. The quantity of sandal-wood imported into China from Malabar annually is about 3000 piculs, 3571½ cwts. There are no means of ascertaining the importations from the Indian Islands; but the produce of the island of Timur alone is not under 8000 piculs, or 9524 cwts.

Sapan-wood, as mentioned in the agricultural department of the work, grows abundantly in several of the Indian Islands, and is exported to Europe and China. It is generally obtained at the cheap rate of 3s. 4d., or one Spanish dollar the picul, and used as dunnage.

Within the last twelvemonth, the *sassafras* tree has been discovered in great quantities in the island of Banca, and cut down for commercial purposes. The charge of hewing the wood, and preparing it for market, has been estimated at about two Spanish dollars the picul, or 7s. 5¾ per cwt.

The *ebony* of the Indian Islands is much inferior to that of the Mauritius, being generally of a paler colour, and of less hardness. It is found in considerable quantities, and is an article of exportation to China.

A species of wood, called *bliang* by the Malays, is abundant in Borneo, and forms a considerable article of exportation to China. This is a heavy

hard wood, chiefly valued for being almost incorruptible. It resists every alternation of heat, cold, and moisture, and nothing proves injurious to it but the depredation of the water-worm, or *Teredo navalis*.

Rattans form one of the greatest articles of exportation from the Indian Islands, and are sent to Bengal, to Europe, and above all to China, where an immense quantity is consumed as cordage. The rattan is the spontaneous product of all the forests of the Archipelago, but exists in greatest perfection in those of the Islands of Borneo, Sumatra, and of the Malayan Peninsula. The finest are produced in the country of the *Bataks* of Sumatra. The wood-cutter, who is inclined to deal in this article, proceeds into the forest, without any other instrument than his *parang* or cleaver, and cuts as much as he is able to carry away. The mode of performing the operation is this: He makes a notch in the tree, at the root of which the rattan is growing, and cutting the latter, strips off a small portion of the outer bark, and inserts the part that is peeled into the notch. The rattan being now pulled through, as long as it continues of an equal size, is by this operation neatly and readily freed from its *epidermis*. When the wood-cutter has obtained by this means from three hundred to four hundred rattans, being as many as an individual can conveniently carry in their

moist and undried state, he sits down and ties them up in bundles of one hundred, each rattan being doubled before being thus tied up. After drying, they are fit for the market without further preparation. From this account of the small labour expended in bringing them to market, they can be sold at a very cheap rate. The Chinese junks obtain them in Borneo, at the low rate of five Spanish dollars per hundred bundles, or five cents for each hundred rattans, or thirty-seven for a penny. The natives always vend them by tale, but the resident European merchants and the Chinese by weight, counting by the picul. According to their quality, and the relative state of supply and demand, the European resident merchants dispose of them at from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars the picul. In China the price is usually about $3\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per picul, or 75 per cent. above the average prime cost. In Bengal they are sold by tale, each bundle of a hundred rattans bringing about $20\frac{1}{2}$d.

Of materials of cordage, the only ones deserving of notice as articles of commerce are the *gomuti*: the material resembling black horse-hair, obtained from the *Aren* palm, as described in the book on Agriculture; and *white rope*, or Manilla rope or cordage, manufactured, as stated already, from the epidermis of a species of *musa* or banana. The fibres of the first singular substance are stronger, more durable, but less pliant than those of the *coir*

or coco-nut husk, and therefore more fit for cables and standing-rigging, but less fit for running-rigging. The native shipping of all kinds are entirely equipped with the cordage of the *gomuti;* and the largest European shipping in the Indies find the advantage of using cables of it. It undergoes no preparation but that of spinning and twisting, no material similar to our tar or pitch, indispensable to the preservation of hempen cordage, being necessary with a substance, that, in a remarkable degree, possesses the quality of resisting alternations of heat and moisture. The best gomuti is the produce of the islands farthest east, as Amboyna and the other Spice Islands. That of Java has a coarse ligneous fibre; the produce of Madura is better. Gomuti is generally sold in twisted shreds or yarns, often as low as a Spanish dollar a picul, and seldom above two, which last price is no more than one-sixth part of the price of Russia hemp in the London market. Were European ingenuity applied to the improvement of this material, there can be little doubt but it might be rendered more extensively useful.

One of the most valuable productions of the Indian Islands is *teak timber*. As mentioned in another place, it grows only abundantly in Java, from whence it may be exported in large quantities, such is the extent of the forests of it which exist in that island. Besides compass and crooked tim-

ber, it is reckoned that these forests, without any injury to them, may annually afford 50,000 beams for ship-building and exportation, and supply the demand for small timber, for house-building, and native shipping craft besides. The price paid for teak timber by the Dutch government in former times was at the low rate of about 4s. 7½d. per load. This was, however, a forced price, the timber being delivered as an assessment. Any additional quantity was paid at 50 per cent. advance upon this. The government sold the timber thus cheaply obtained at a monopoly price, taking advantage of the necessities only of the public, and necessarily excluding all fair and regular traffic. The trade was, during the British time, opened to private speculation, and large quantities of it were sent to the market of Bengal, where it competed successfully with that of Pegu. The established prices, as fixed by the government, whose property the forests are, were then as follow: Straight squared timber was sold at an average of L. 5 per load. A mast piece, 61 feet long, by 17 inches diameter, was sold for L. 7, 14s. 4½d. per load; and one of 100 feet, by 32 inches diameter, for L. 12, 2s. 5d. Planks, or rather what is called in the language of our Indian ship-builders *shinbin*, being planks hewn out of the solid beam by the adze, were sold at the rate of L. 5, 14s. per load, and pipe-staves at L. 2, 2s. 9d. per hundred. The existing administration of the

island has again restricted the trade, and the timber is now sold 200 per cent. dearer than when the island was in the British occupation.

Under the British administration, some ships wholly built of teak were constructed by British ship-builders. In the year 1817, it was estimated that the hull of a ship, well fastened and sheathed with copper, could be easily constructed at the rate of L. 12 per ton. Besides teak, inferior, but still valuable woods abound, fit for house and ship-building. The large trading praos of the Macassars and Bugis, called *padewakan*, the best native vessels of the Archipelago, are constructed of a timber called *katundeng*, a hard durable wood found abundantly in the mountains of Celebes.

Many vegetable productions might be mentioned which, in the event of colonization, European ingenuity and capital might manufacture into a form to fit them for a distant market. The boundless forests of these countries suggest, for example, the probability that industry might be well rewarded in the manufacture of pot and pearl ashes, which require comparatively but a moderate share of skill and capital. Should European colonization take place in the Indian Islands, and an useful freedom of commerce be established, it might be suggested that China, from its vicinity, the density of its population, and the high price of the produce of the soil, which is the consequence of this state of

things, would afford to the *lumber* of the Indian Islands the same advantageous market which Europe has afforded to that of America.

The *animal products* of the Archipelago, which afford materials of commercial export, though less valuable than the vegetable, are important and interesting. Land animals afford hides, horns, ivory, feathers, birds' nests, stick and shell lac, bees' wax, jerk-beef, and animal sinews. The fisheries supply dry fish, fish maws and roes, sharks' fins, tripang or sea-slug, tortoise-shell, pearls, mother-of-pearl, and cowries, with ambergris. I shall give a very rapid sketch of these, confining myself generally to what relates to their commercial character.

From the great size of all the buffaloes, and of the greater number of the oxen of the Indian Islands, their hides and horns are peculiarly valuable. The immense horns of the Java buffalo have been long sent to Europe as an article of trade, and the hides both of the ox and buffalo are sent to China always in the hair, and not tanned. Bali and Lombok are the countries which have afforded the greater number of ox hides, and the cost may be judged of from the price of the whole animal, which seldom exceeds ten or twelve shillings. * In Java, where there is the greatest abun-

* Boeckman, speaking of Bali, says, "The country affords plenty of oxen, the largest and best I ever saw out of

dance of cattle, the number of hides available for exportation is diminished by the singular practice among the inhabitants of that island of using the fresh hide as an article of food,—nay, even esteeming it a dainty beyond any other part of the animal. A steady demand for hides as an article of commerce would probably put an end to this taste. In Java, from the low price of salt, it may be suggested, that pickling the hides, a practice never yet resorted to in that part of the world, might answer. Hides and horns, from their bulky nature, will probably be always a fitter article for the neighbouring market of China than for the more distant one of Europe.

The Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, the only countries of the Archipelago where the elephant is found, are also, of course, the only countries that afford much *ivory*. From these two countries, and more especially from the neighbouring country of Siam, ivory forms a considerable article of exportation, principally, of course, to China, where the manufacture of this beautiful commodity is better understood than any where else.

The birds of the Indian Islands, like those of other warm countries, are more remarkable for the gay and brilliant tints of their plumage than for

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England."—*Voyage to Borneo*, p. 168.—From my own experience I can speak to the same effect.

its softness and abundance. They afford, therefore, no down for commerce, but ornamental feathers of singular beauty. The principal are the feathers of several species of the jay tribe, called Birds of Paradise, and those of the Argus pheasant, respectively found, the first in the countries of the eastern, and the last of the western, extremity of the Archipelago; the one being found only in New Guinea and the adjacent islands, and the other no where but in Sumatra and the Malayan Peninsula. The bird of paradise is an article of commerce to China and Europe. To prepare it for the market, the bird is embowelled, smoked, and deprived of the legs. The bird is abundant; and the Papuas, of whose country it is an inhabitant, are dexterous in shooting or taking them. It is, in consequence, cheap in its native country, and would be abundant every where, if the want of confidence which exists between the seller and the buyer, with the restrictions on the intercourse between the rest of the world and the emporia to which they are brought, did not unnaturally enhance their cost. The usual price at Banda is about 4s. 2½d. a bird.

The nest of a species of swallow peculiar to the Indian Islands, *Hirundo esculenta*, is well known to constitute an important article of their commerce, owing to the very whimsical luxury of the Chinese. The natural history of this bird is far from being as yet accurately understood, and it

would be useless to dwell upon conjectures respecting the nature of the substance which composes the nest. In shape the nest is like that of an ordinary swallow's nest, and in external appearance as well as consistence, somewhat resembles a fibrous ill-concocted isinglass. The nests of all the swallow tribe in these countries are more or less formed of this singular substance. The common house martin, as I have a thousand times seen, constructs its nest partly of this substance, and partly of the ordinary materials of birds' nests, hair, straws, feathers, &c. These, however, are of no value. The esculent nest is always the produce of the swallow that builds in the caves of rocks, at a distance from the habitation of man. The caves where these nests are found are frequently, but not always, on the sea-side. In Java, very productive caves are found in the interior of the country, and at least fifty miles from the sea. It seems probable that they are most abundant on the sea-side only, because caverns are there most frequent, and least liable to disturbance. This seems to prove that sea foam, or other marine production, has no share in the formation of the nest; and the most probable hypothesis is, that the nest is a material elaborated from the food of the bird, a conjecture which would be proved if, on a skilful dissection, it were discovered, that the bird has any peculiar organs destined to perform such a process. The natives

of the Indian Islands make no distinction between the variety of swallow which affords the esculent nest and any other, nor do I believe that naturalists have remarked any.

As an article of commerce, the quality of the nest is determined by several circumstances, as the nature and situation of the cave, its extent, but, above all, the time at which the nest is taken. The best nests are those obtained in deep damp caves, and such as are taken before the birds have laid their eggs. The coarsest are those obtained after the young have been fledged. The finest nests are the whitest, that is, those taken before the nest has been rendered impure by the food and *feces* of the young birds. The best are white, and the inferior dark-coloured, streaked with blood, or intermixed with feathers. It may be remarked, however, that some of the natives describe the purer nests as the dwelling of the cock-bird, and always so designate them in commerce. Birds' nests are collected twice a-year, and, if regularly collected, and no unusual injury be offered to the caverns, will produce very equally, the quantity being very little if at all improved by the caves being left altogether unmolested for a year or two. Some of the caverns are extremely difficult of access, and the nests can only be collected by persons accustomed from their youth to the office. The most remarkable and productive caves in Java,

of which I superintended a moiety of the collection for several years, are those of *Karang-bolang*, in the province of *Baglen*, on the south coast of the island. Here the caves are only to be approached by a perpendicular descent of many hundred feet, by ladders of bamboo and rattan, over a sea rolling violently against the rocks. When the mouth of the cavern is attained, the perilous office of taking the nests must often be performed with torch-light, by penetrating into recesses of the rock, when the slightest trip would be instantly fatal to the adventurers, who see nothing below them but the turbulent surf making its way into the chasms of the rock.

The only preparation which the birds' nests undergo is that of simple drying, without direct exposure to the sun, after which they are packed in small boxes, usually of half a picul. They are assorted for the Chinese market into three kinds, according to their qualities, distinguished into *first*, or best, *second*, and *third* qualities. Caverns that are regularly managed will afford in 100 parts $53\frac{3}{10}$ parts of those of the first quality, 35 parts of those of the second, $11\frac{7}{10}$ parts of those of the third.

The common prices for birds' nests at Canton are, for the first sort, 3500 Spanish dollars the picul, or L. 5, 18s. $1\frac{1}{2}$d. per pound; for the second, 2800 Spanish dollars per picul; and, for

the third, no more than 1600 Spanish dollars. In the Chinese markets a still nicer classification of the edible nests is often made than in the islands. The whole are frequently divided into three great classes, under the commercial appellations of *Paskat*, *Chi-kat*, and *Tung-tung*, each of which, according to quality, is subdivided into three inferior orders, and we have, consequently, prices varying from 1200 Spanish dollars per picul to 4200. These last, therefore, are more valuable than their weight in silver! From these prices it is sufficiently evident, that the birds' nests are no more than an article of expensive luxury. They are consumed only by the great, and the best part is sent to the capital for the consumption of the court. The sensual Chinese use them, under the imagination that they are powerfully stimulating and tonic, but, it is probable, that their most valuable quality is their being perfectly harmless. The people of Japan, who so much resemble the Chinese in many of their habits, have no taste for the edible nests, and how the latter first acquired a taste for this foreign commodity is only less singular than their persevering in it. Among the western nations there is nothing parallel to it, unless we except the whimsical estimation in which the Romans held some articles of luxury, remarkable for their scarcity rather than for any qualities ascribed to them.

Of the quantity of birds' nests exported from the Indian Islands, although we cannot state the exact amount, we have data for hazarding some probable conjectures respecting it. From Java there are exported about 200 piculs, or 27,000 lbs. the greater part of which is of the first quality. The greatest quantity is from the *Suluk* Archipelago, and consists of 530 piculs. From Macassar there are sent about 30 piculs of the fine kind. These data will enable us to offer some conjectures respecting the whole quantity, for the edible swallow's nest being universally and almost equally diffused from Junk, Ceylon, to New Guinea, and the whole produce going to one market, and only by one conveyance, the junks, it is probable, that the average quantity taken by each vessel is not less than the sum taken from the ports just mentioned. Taking the quantity sent from Batavia as the estimate, we know that this is conveyed by 5300 tons of shipping, and, therefore, the whole quantity will be 1818 piculs, or 242,400 lbs., as the whole quantity of Chinese shipping is 30,000 tons. In the Archipelago, at the prices already quoted, this property is worth 1,263,510 Spanish dollars, or L. 284,290. The value of this immense property to the country which produces it, rests upon the capricious wants of a single people. From its nature it necessarily follows that it is claimed as the exclusive property of the sovereign,

and every where forms a valuable branch of his income, or of the revenue of the state. This value, however, is of course not equal, and depends upon the situation and the circumstances connected with the caverns in which the nests are found. Being often in remote and sequestered situations, in a country so lawless, a property so valuable and exposed is subject to the perpetual depredation of freebooters, and it not unfrequently happens that an attack upon them is the principal object of the warfare committed by one petty state against another. In such situations, the expence of affording them protection is so heavy that they are necessarily of little value. In situations where the caverns are difficult of access to strangers, and where there reigns enough of order and tranquillity to secure them from internal depredation, and to admit of the nests being obtained without other expence than the simple labour of collecting them, the value of the property is very great. The caverns of *Karang-bolang*, in Java, are of this description. These annually afford 6810 lbs. of nests, which are worth, at the Batavia prices of 3200, 2500, and 1200 Spanish dollars the picul, for the respective kinds, nearly 139,000 Spanish dollars, and the whole expence of collecting, curing, and packing, amounts to no more than 11 per cent. on this amount. The price of birds' nests is, of course, a monopoly price, the quantity produced

being by nature limited and incapable of being augmented. The value of the labour expended in bringing birds' nests to market is but a trifling portion of their price, which consists of the highest price which the luxurious Chinese will afford to pay for them, and which is a tax paid by that nation to the inhabitants of the Indian islands.* There is perhaps no production upon which human industry is exerted of which the cost of production bears so small a portion to the market price.

The *lac* insect exists in most of the forests of the Indian islands, but especially in those of Sumatra and the Malayan Peninsula. Its produce is, however, inferior to that of Bengal, and especially of Pegu, which countries chiefly supply the large consumption of the market of China, while the *lac* of the Indian islands is principally confined to home consumption.

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* "When a commodity is at a monopoly price, it is at the very highest price at which the consumers are willing to purchase it. Commodities are only at a monopoly price when, by no possible means, their quantity can be augmented; and when, therefore, the competition is wholly on one side—amongst the buyers. The monopoly price of one period may be much lower or higher than the monopoly price of another, because the competition among the purchasers must depend on their wealth, their tastes, and caprices."—*Principles of Political Economy*, by David Ricardo, Esq. B. xv.

Bees' wax constitutes a very valuable and considerable article of commerce. Bees have no where been domesticated in the Indian Islands, nor, indeed, I believe, in any part of Asia. The wandering habits to which they are encouraged at all seasons, by the perpetual succession of flowers, would probably render it difficult.* From the same cause, and it being consequently unnecessary to lay up a store of provision, their honey is small in quantity, while, from the quality of vegetation, it is naturally of much inferior flavour to that of higher latitudes. I have seen the honey of Arabia brought, as a luxury, to the Indian Islands. The bees of these islands, however, afford an abundant supply of wax, which is largely exported to Bengal and China. The greatest supply is obtained in the islands furthest to the east, and, above all, in Timur and Flores. The quantity exported annually from the Portuguese settlements in Timur is 20,000 piculs, which is sold by the natives at the low rate of five Spanish dollars the picul, or 18s. 10½d. per cwt. When the Bugis vessels bring it to the west, it is, according to its purity, sold from 26 to 36 Spanish dollars the picul. In

* This objection may not be equally applicable to situations of considerable elevation. The bee appears to be domesticated in the island of Cuba, although I am ignorant under what circumstances.

Bengal we find the same produce quoted at 45 rupees per maund, or an advance of 36½ per cent.

Animal flesh, among the Indian islanders, is never, as with us, pickled, but, for preservation, is dried in the sun, with the assistance of a very small proportion of salt. Under the native name of *dendeng*, the muscle of the ox, the buffalo, the deer, and wild hog, are thus prepared, and the three first form an article of considerable domestic consumption, while all are exported by the junks to China. The best *dendeng* may be had at the rate of six Spanish dollars the picul, 2½d. per pound.

The *fisheries* of the Indian Islands afford a most valuable branch of their industry. Both sea and river fish abound, but the first are the most abundant and valuable. The waters which surround these islands are so tranquil, and the numerous banks which exist afford the living animals which inhabit them such abundance of food, that no part of the world abounds more in fine fish. The seas of the western parts of the Archipelago, particularly the Straits of Malacca, and the shores of the Gulf of Siam, are the most remarkable for their abundance of edible fish. * Towards the eastern parts of the Archipelago, where the coasts are

* "Their seas," (the Straits of Malacca,) says Hamilton, "produce the finest fish that ever I saw or tasted."—*New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. II. p. 156.

bolder and the seas deeper, the fish are scarcer and less abundant. The edible fish are numerous, among which the pomfret, the calcap, and the sole, are the most delicate. A great variety of fish are dried in the sun, and form a considerable article of commerce, fish being in this state,—for little or none is consumed fresh,—an article of as universal consumption among the Indian islanders as flesh is in cold countries. The preparation which fish undergo consists simply in drying them in the sun, for pickling is hardly ever had recourse to. Of one species, a kind of shad, which frequents the great river of Siak in Sumatra, the dried roe, of enormous size, constitutes an article of commerce. The common price of ordinary salt or dried fish may be stated at two Spanish dollars per picul, or 7s. 6¾d per cwt.

Ordinary dried fish forms no portion of the foreign exports of the Indian islands, but three singular modifications of it do, *fish-maws*, *shark's fins*, and *tripang*, or sea slug, all of which are sent to China in large quantity. The first is a favourite article of the strange luxury of the inhabitants of that country, often bringing as high as 75 Spanish dollars per picul, or L. 14, 3s. 6d. per cwt. in the market of Canton. *Shark's fins* are exported to China from every maritime country of India, from the Arabian Gulf to the Indian islands. They are articles of luxury rather than of neces-

sary food among a sensual people, who seek them under the imagination that they are powerful *tonics*. A *picul* of shark's fins usually sells in China as high as 32 Spanish dollars, or at L. 6, 1s. per cwt. which high price makes it evident, that they are no more than articles of luxury for the use of the rich. In the market of Macassar the ordinary price is about 15 Spanish dollars per picul, or L. 2, 16s. 8½d per cwt. *Tripang swala*, or sea-slug, *(holothurion,)* is a much more important article of commerce than the two just mentioned, and constitutes, in quantity and value, the most considerable article of the exports of the Indian islands to China, unless, perhaps, we except pepper. There are fisheries of *tripang* in every country of the Archipelago, from Sumatra to New Guinea. The fish being found chiefly on coral reefs, and never on flat muddy shores, the most considerable fisheries are consequently to the eastward from Celebes to New Guinea and Australasia, where the formation of the land is most favourable. The most productive are the fisheries among the Aroe islands and those in the Gulf of the Carpentaria, and generally on all the north-west coast of New Holland, called, by the Bugis fishermen, *Măreje*, and by the Chinese, *Lam-hai*.

The *tripang* is an unseemly looking substance, of a dirty brown colour, hard, rigid, scarcely possessing any power of locomotion, nor appearance

of animation. Some of the fish is occasionally as much as two feet in length, and from seven to eight inches in circumference. The length of a span, and the girth of from two to three inches, however, is the ordinary size. The quality or value of the fish, however, does by no means depend upon its size, but upon properties in them, neither obvious to, nor discernible by, those who have not had a long and intimate experience of the trade. The Chinese merchants are almost the only persons who possess this skill, even the native fishermen themselves being often ignorant on the subject, and always leaving the cargo to be assorted by the Chinese on their return to port. The commercial classification made by the Chinese is curious and particular. In the market of Macassar the greatest staple of this fishery, not less than thirty varieties are distinguished, varying in price from five Spanish dollars per picul to fourteen times that price, each being particularized by well known names. To satisfy curiosity I shall give a few of them, with their ordinary prices.

Tacheritang costs	68 Spanish dollars.
Batu-bǎsar -	54
Batu-tǎngah -	22
Batu-kǎchil -	14
Itam-bǎsar -	30
Itam-tǎngah -	15

Itam-kăchil -	8 Spanish dollars.
Tundang -	24
Kunyit -	9
Donga -	7
Japon -	12
Mosi -	9
Kawasa -	5
Pachang-goreng -	5
Gama -	12½
Taikongkong -	13½
Măreje (New Holland)	19
Kayu-jawa -	26
Bankuli -	20

It is evident, from this account, that the tripang trade is one in which no stranger can embark with any safety, and it is consequently almost entirely in the hands of the Chinese. The actual fishery is managed, however, exclusively by the natives. The fish is caught by them on ledges of coral rock, usually at the depth of from three to five fathoms. The larger kinds, when in shallow water, are occasionally speared, but the most common mode of taking them is by diving for them in the manner practised for pearl oysters, and taking them up with the hands. The quantity of tripang sent annually to China from Macassar is about 7000 piculs, or 8333 cwt. The price in the market of China varies from eight Spanish dollars per

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picul, to 20, to 50, to 75, to 110, and to as high as 115, according to quality.

Tortoise-shell is a valuable article of the commerce of the Archipelago. The tortoise is found in all the seas of the Archipelago, but in greatest abundance in those in which the sea-slug abounds, particularly the east coast of Celebes, the coasts of the Spice Islands, and those of New Guinea. Towards the western parts of the Archipelago, the animal is smaller, the shell thinner, and of course much less valuable. Those engaged in fishing the *tripang* combine with it that of the tortoise, and about 200 piculs, 26,666⅔ lbs. of shell are annually brought to Macassar by them for exportation to China, where the price is from 300 to 350 Spanish dollars the picul, 70¾ per cent. less than the prices in the London market. This very tortoise-shell is again re-exported to Europe, affording a pointed example of the beneficial consequences of the free trade of the Chinese, and the flagrant injustice and impolicy of the restrictions upon the intercourse of Europeans with those countries. The valuable productions which are obtained on the very coasts of the islands which the latter occupy, are here seen to be forced into a foreign market, where they must be collected before they can find their way to their final destination.

Pearls, and the *mother-of-pearl oyster*, are productions of the seas of the Indian islands. The

first, as an object of trade, are found no where but in the Suluk islands, and the last principally there also. Pearls are found in the narrow channels or passages which exist among the numerous and dangerous shoals of the islands of this group. The pearl is known in every language of the Archipelago by one and the same name, and this name, *Mutya*, or *Mutyara*, is Sanskrit, from which it may be inferred that the use of pearls as an ornament, and by consequence the art of fishing for them, were taught by the Hindus. The quantity annually exported to China is reckoned worth, on the spot, 25,000 Spanish dollars; and the quantity of mother-of-pearl shell obtained and exported to the same country is about 5000 piculs, worth in China, at the rate of 14 Spanish dollars the picul, 70,000 dollars, or L. 15,750. Considering the turbulent and piratical habits of the natives of the Suluk group, it is certain that a greater share of skill and industry than can at present be applied to these fisheries, would greatly enhance the value and amount of their produce.

The same seas are the only parts of the Archipelago in which the *cowrie shells*, used as small currency in Hindustan, are found; and the Bugis *Praos* bring them as articles of traffic to the more westerly parts of the Archipelago. These also, as well as almost all parts of the Archipelago, afford the *gigantic cockle*, some of which occasion-

ally measure three feet wide. The substance of the shell is several inches thick, perfectly white, and takes a fine polish. They are sent to China as articles of trade.

Ambergris is found in several parts of the seas of the Archipelago, and constitutes an article of the return cargos to China. As the commodity has no name but the Arabian one *Anbăr*, we may plausibly conjecture that the Arabs first instructed the natives in the use of it as a perfume.

The last marine production I shall mention is *Agar-agar*, a kind of *Fucus*, which is soluble in water, and in which it forms a gelatinous matter. The Chinese use it in this form with sugar, as a sweetmeat, and apply it in the arts as an excellent paste. It is probable it might be used in the same manner by us, and might prove a cheap and useful substitute for the expensive gums we now import. It forms a portion of the cargos of all the junks. The price on the spot where it is collected is very low, seldom exceeding one and a half or two Spanish dollars a picul, or from 5s. 8d. to 7s. 6¾d. per cwt.

It need hardly be insisted upon that, in the event of the European race colonizing in the countries of the Archipelago, and their enterprise being permitted to take its natural range, the rich variety of marine production which I have now enumerated would, with the interminable demands

of the market of China in their immediate vicinage, afford abundant occupation for their industry and skill. In speaking of the fisheries of the Indian Islands, one great subject has not yet been alluded to—the *whale-fishery*. In the seas which surround the Spice Islands, and particularly towards Timur, and that portion of the Pacific Ocean which lies between the Archipelago and New Holland, the *Cachelot* or Spermaceti whale abounds. While the Spice Islands were in our possession, our whalers were in the habit of refreshing at Amboyna, which they found a convenient station for this purpose alone, though permitted to carry on no species of trade with it. Ten or twelve of them annually put in for refreshments at the port of *Dili* in Timur. It is evident, that any nation in possession of the Spice Islands, that has the wisdom to destroy the absurd monopoly of spices, and restore the industry of those countries to their natural state, may see them necessarily become a convenient station of the whale-fishery. If industry and capital were suffered to take their natural course, the spice trade and whale-fishery would be naturally combined, each mutually aiding the other. The striking contrast in the present case, between the *free* and *fettered* trade, is sufficient to bring ridicule and confusion on the supporters of regulated and monopoly commerce. The spermaceti whale-fishery

employs 82,100 tons of shipping, and 3210 seamen;—the vaunted spice trade 700 tons, and 80 seamen; the tonnage is thus 46 times greater, the hands employed 40 times greater. The value of the fishery is L. 1070,000, that of the spices, at three times their natural price, only L. 120,000, or little more than a ninth part of the value of the fishery. This amount for the fishery is obtained by the labour of 3210 men, among the boldest, most active, and hardy, that human institutions are capable of breeding. The spices are obtained through the enslaving of a population of 46,000, or with the labour of 11,500 persons, taking the labouring population at about a fourth of that number,* who, with perhaps a million more, are by means of it robbed of the most ordinary rights of human nature, and kept in slavery and barbarism to insure an unworthy and contemptible object. It will appear from this, and allowing that spices bring a monopoly price equal to three times their natural value, that the labour of one Englishman is equal to that of 96 natives of the Spice Islands, with the aid of the productive powers of the soil to boot. The value of the ordinary labour of a civilized European over an Asiatic, wherever there is an opportunity of making a fair comparison, is no

* This is the actual population of Amboyna and the Banda Islands.

more, however, than as $3\frac{1}{2}$ is to 1. Some of this he owes to the natural and inherent superiority of his physical form, but more to education and to moral habit.

The Indian Archipelago, so remarkable for the rich variety of its vegetable and animal productions, is hardly less distinguished for its *mineral wealth*. In tin, it is by far the most productive country on the globe; and in gold, it is probably not inferior to America. Ores of silver, lead, and zinc, on the other hand, have not yet been discovered at all; and iron is scarce, no ores of it sufficiently rich being at all found in some of the islands, and these the most distinguished for their vegetable wealth and civilization. Rich ores of copper are known to exist in several situations, but this metal is not generally diffused. The truth, however, is, that, with respect to the metallic wealth of those countries, very little is known, for the industry and civilization necessary to elicit it neither exist now nor have ever existed. The singular wealth of the tin and gold mines has in a measure obtruded these metals upon notice; but it is only through the enterprise of strangers, and in very recent times, that their produce has become a respectable object of commerce. The commanding genius of the European race, though fettered by so many pernicious restraints, has, since its authority was established in these regions, had in-

fluence enough to establish such a share of confidence and security as to stimulate enterprise where the natural wealth of the land made a very little sufficient. Under the commanding protection of that genius, the industry and the labour of the more industrious nations of Asia frequenting the Archipelago, particularly the Chinese, has been put in motion; and it is chiefly through them that the gold and tin mines of the Archipelago, before little known, or of little value, have been rendered productive.

The mineral products which particularly deserve notice, in a commercial point of view, and of which I propose giving an account in succession, are the following: tin—gold—copper—iron—salt—sulphur, and the diamond.

Tin is called, in every language of the Archipelago, by the name *Timah*, a word, it is presumed, of the Malay language. In geographical distribution, tin is confined to the island of Banca, the Malayan Peninsula, and the islets on its coasts, with *Junkceylon*. Tin, wherever found, it has been remarked, has a limited geographical distribution; but where it does exist, it is always in great abundance. The tin of the Indian islands has, however, a much wider range of distribution than that of any other country, being found in considerable quantity from the 98° to the 107° of East longitude, and from the 8° North, to 3° South latitude.

Tin exists either in greatest abundance, or is obtained with least labour and difficulty, in the island of Banca, which affords at present by far the greater quantity of the tin of commerce of the Archipelago. The discovery of the mines of Banca is comparatively a recent event. It took place in the beginning of last century, in the reign of Sultan Badur U'din, king of Palembang, and sovereign of the island. *

This event in the history of tin may be fairly compared to the discovery of the American mines, in that of the precious metals. The working of the former mines in the Archipelago was in a great measure discontinued; and, but for the effects of the monopoly, the influence might have extended to Europe. In about thirty years from the discovery, the tin produced from the mines of

* Captain Hamilton, who was in India at the time, gives the following account of the discovery: "In 1710, a son of the king of Pullamban (*Palembang*) was king, and a fire accidentally happening in a village, when the fire was extinguished they chanced to find much melted metal under the rubbish, which proved to be tin. The king ordered his people to dig a little into the ground, and they found plenty of ore, which he now reaps a good advantage by. The Dutch sent from Batavia for leave to settle a factory there, but could not obtain that favour, the king declaring that his country should be free for all nations to trade in."—*New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. II. p. 120.

Banca was no less than 65,000 piculs, or 3870 tons, being nearly the same as that of the mines of Cornwall at present. Previous to the discovery of the mines of Banca, the principal portion of the tin of the Archipelago was obtained on the west coast of the Malayan Peninsula. *

The geological formation of the island of Banca is chiefly *primary* rock. The principal mountains are of granite; and those of inferior elevation of red iron-stone. In the low tracts between these, the tin ore is found, and hitherto always in *alluvial* depositesites, seldom further than 25 feet from the surface. The *strata* in which it is found are always in a horizontal direction; and the following is an example of their nature and composition:

Vegetable mould, - -	1½ feet.
Black clay, - -	8
Grey clay intermixed with sand, -	4
Black clay, - -	6
Coarse sand, of semi-transparent colour, bedded in pure white clay,	6
	25½

* "The country," says Hamilton, speaking of Perah, "produces more tin than any in India;" and again he adds, "there are several places along the coast of Malaya that produce great quantities of tin; but Salangore and Parcelore are the most noted."—*New Account of the East Indies*, p. 73. 74.

These incumbent materials vary a little in different situations, but not materially. Immediately under the last stratum occurs the bed or *stream* of tin ore, disseminated in coarse fragments of granite, and other primitive rocks, and of various degrees of depth. The disappearance of the bed of ore is constantly indicated by a stratum of pure white friable clay. *

The tin ore of Banca is common tin ore, or *tin-stone*, an oxide of tin, and its most common colour is reddish-brown. From this account of the geognostic situation of tin we shall be prepared to understand the nature of the processes pursued for converting it into metal. The process of mining is wonderfully simple, easy, and cheap. A tin mine is nothing else than a large oblong pit, made by excavating the ground in a perpendicular direction, to a depth of from 15 to 25 feet, to remove the superincumbent strata of sand and clay and get at the ore. The first opening is seldom above 100 feet in length, and if the ore is discovered to lie below the usual depth, the situation in the present abundance of mineral will be neglected for a more favourable one. The mines are divided into *large* and *small*, called respectively in the language of the country *kolong* and *kulit*. It is in the first

* Called by the Chinese miners *Kongseh*.

only that the process of mining is carried to any degree of refinement, and that machinery is employed. The Chinese alone are engaged in working these, and the average number of hands employed in each mining operation is from 25 to 30. The whole of the labourers work on terms of equality; the older and more experienced directing, and the younger and more active performing the operative part, while all share equally in the profits. Fortunately it has been found impracticable to make the Chinese labour on any other terms. The whole process for obtaining the metal consists of *mining*, *washing*, and *fusing*: of each of these I shall supply a very brief sketch in their natural order. The situation for opening a new mine is determined by some indications of the existence of the mineral, well known to the experienced Chinese, and by the usual test of *boring*. The ground being first cleared of the huge primeval forest which covers all Banca, the miners begin methodically to remove the alluvial strata to get at the ore. In large mines of a superficies of 100 feet by 80, this operation, conducted by 25 or 30 workmen, will occupy about from three to four months. The earth it removed by little baskets, a pair of which are suspended, according to the usual custom of the east, from a beam or lever across the shoulders of the workmen. The rough trunk of a forest tree felled on the spot, and having steps cut

into it, constitutes the ladder by which the descent and ascent into the mine is effected. The smaller mines, besides being generally more superficial, are commonly situated upon acclivities, and thus an accumulation of water seldom incommodes the mining, but the larger ones are more frequently in vallies, and soon filled with water, which it is necessary to remove. This is effected by a common and cheap hydraulic Chinese machine. Sometimes a canal is made to pass close to the mine for the purpose of facilitating the labour of removing the upper *strata* of sand and clay, which are thrown into it as extracted, and thus carried off by the stream. This is, of course, practicable only in situations where the fluid has a considerable impetus. The stratum of tin is pursued by a succession of pits, following the first opening or shaft.

The *washing* of the mineral is performed in a manner remarkably cheap and easy. The abundance of mountain streams, which characterize the physical aspect of Banca, in common with all the other considerable islands of this tropical region, are the sources of this facility. When there is much room for selection it becomes a material object to choose a mine in the neighbourhood of such mountain stream which is either itself, or a canal from it, directed to the neighbourhood of the mine, where an aqueduct is regularly formed, the sides

of which are carefully lined with the bark of the large forest-trees of the neighbourhood. Into this trench the ore previously accumulated on its bank is gradually thrown in, while a rapid stream of water is made to pass through it, the labourer agitating the materials with a hoe. The earth and sand are carried off by the water. The ore and large stones by their gravity subside, when the latter are separated from the former by manual labour, with the occasional use of sieves.

The purified ore thus obtained is removed to sheds erected for the purpose, and which contain the furnaces and apparatus for *smelting*. The process of smelting is usually performed once a-year, or, in a very productive season, twice. The furnace is ten feet long, four wide, and composed of clay. The bellows, or ventilator, is a piece of timber, about twenty-five inches in diameter, having a bore of seventeen or eighteen inches admitting a piston. It is made of a single tree, and its fabrication requires considerable skill. This engine, plied by three stout workmen, keeps up a constant blast on the furnace. A quantity of ignited charcoal is first thrown into the furnace, which continues, as long as the process of smelting goes forward, to be fed alternately with ore and coals. In due time, and when the furnace is heated, the metal begins to flow, in a full stream, from an aperture for the purpose in the bottom of the floor,

and is received into a basin, from which, in time, it is removed, by a ladle, into moulds made of moist sand, formed near the furnace. The size of these moulds gives slabs or ingots of metal weighing 50 katis, or 66⅔ lbs. This operation serves the double purpose of smelting and roasting the ore. It is always conducted in the night time, to avoid the heats of the day, which would be inconvenient in that climate to the labourers. In the course of one night 5280 lbs. of ore are smelted, which, at an average, afford 44 or 45 ingots of metal, or 3062 lbs., so that, at this rate, 100 parts of ore yield 58 parts of metal. A more improved, but perhaps more expensive, mode of smelting would, it is thought, give a greater produce.

The outlay of capital, according to this mode of extracting tin, is extremely trifling. Besides the water-wheel, ventilator, and shed, including the furnaces, it consists of the charges for pick-axes, spades, hoes, shovels, and a few cheap wheel-barrows, after a Chinese construction. The very woods, cut down on the site of the mines, afford the necessary charcoal for smelting. The whole of the processes described are conducted by the Chinese. The miners are scattered over the island according to the direction of the mines. Besides the immediate labourers in the mines, many others are connected with them, being engaged either in raising food and necessaries, or in fabricating the

tools and other materials required in the processes of mining, washing, and smelting. Among these are blacksmiths, carpenters, charcoal burners, gardeners, &c. In the present state of population, the corn consumed by the workmen is more cheaply imported than grown. The simplicity of the various processes of mining industry is such, that little previous training is necessary. The only exception to this is the business of the smelter, which is always a separate trade. The miners are almost all natives of China, and, notwithstanding the difference of climate, and the severity of their occupations, enjoy good health.

Besides the tin obtained by the Chinese, by the intelligent processes now described, an inconsiderable quantity is obtained by the natives, by very rude processes. The masters of the island, the Malays, or, at least, the people of Palembang, imitate the Chinese at an humble distance, and extract the ore by means similar to those practised by the latter in the *small* mines. The aboriginal natives follow still ruder processes. They mine in the form of a narrow cylindrical shaft, capable of admitting one person only, and, if the bed of ore be found productive, follow it at the risk of their lives under the alluvial strata, which often fall in upon them. They have no water-wheel, no aqueduct. To avoid the accumulation of water, they *must* always mine on the acclivities of elo-

vated tracts, and, for washing the mineral, it must be conveyed, as it is extracted, to the nearest rivulet. In smelting they use small furnaces, and, instead of the large and effectual ventilator of the Chinese, the common Malay bellows, described in the first volume of this work, is employed by them. The metal is even transported to the market, with inferior skill, and to facilitate its conveyance, is cast into much smaller slabs than those of the Chinese, by which distinction it is known in the markets. The different conditions of the three races of men, in point of industry and civilization, is distinctly pourtrayed in their respective manner of pursuing the process of mining. Were the European race to engage in the same occupation on fair terms, that is, supposing them legitimately colonized, we should find a new and higher grade added to the scale, if, indeed, their superior vigour and intelligence did not soon banish all competition.

The economical management pursued in regard to the mines by the sultans of Palembang deserves a particular description. The real source of the large revenue which the sultan of Palembang derives from the mines of Banca is the *rent* of these mines, what they yield beyond the value of the produce of the poorer mines of other countries. The sultan is at once the sovereign and the owner, or *lord* of the soil, and nominally the mining *adventurer*. Comparing the economy of the mines

of Banca with those of Cornwall, he receives—the tax or quit-rent paid to the duke or sovereign,—the rent paid to the *lords* of the soil,—and partakes, nominally at least, in the profits of those who are more immediately the adventurers. Considered as a branch of the public revenue of the native sovereign, the mines of Banca were divided into *five* departments, the administration of which was consigned to as many native officers, usually residing at the court of Palembang. These persons had, according to the practice of the native governments, the whole powers of administration delegated to them, and conducted the civil and military government of their respective districts, as well as, what they considered the more paramount, affairs of the mines. They delegated the charge of the mines to agents distinguished by the Chinese name of *Kongsi*. These kept the accounts of the mines, and at fixed staples had stores of provisions, tools, &c., made advances to the adventurers, and received the tin at fixed rates. The adventurers may be described as being at once *labourers* and *adventurers*, who work in common upon terms of perfect equality. The price which they received was an invariable, fixed, one of about six Spanish dollars per picul, or L. 1, 2s. 8d. per cwt., 57 per cent. less than the cost of Cornish tin. This, however small, nominally must have been a fully adequate compensation for their labour, since it induced them to quit their

country, and to subject themselves to the inconvenience of living in a new uncleared country, and, of course, not in a very favourable climate. The actual price paid, however, must have been greatly lower than this nominal one, for the *Kongsis*, or native agents, were in the practice of supplying them with necessaries at exorbitant prices, as an example of which it may be stated, that rice was delivered to them at the rate of 3 Spanish dollars per picul, six times its price in Java, and certainly not less than 150 per cent. above its natural price on the spot. The whole price paid by the British administration when it took possession of Banca, including management, transportation, &c. was only 8 Spanish dollars the picul of 133⅓ lbs. avoirdupois, or L. 1, 10s. 3d. per cwt. Such are the extraordinary facilities, or the small quantity of labour expended in producing the metal, and bringing it to market. The difference between the price actually paid for the production of the tin, and the selling price, consists of the *profits* of stock, and the *rent* of the mines, but perhaps chiefly, or, indeed, in all likelihood exclusively of the latter, as it is not to be imagined that profit is likely to accrue from the wasteful and improvident management of a trading sovereign. This price on the spot has generally been about 12 dollars, so that the average proportion of the rents of mines in Banca may be reckoned about *one-half* of their produce.

The *quantity* of tin which the mines of Banca are capable of affording is immense, as the supply of ore is nearly indefinite, and the facility of working great. About the year 1750, or forty years after their first discovery, they yielded, it has been calculated, much above 120,000 slabs, or 66,000 piculs, 3870 tons. From internal anarchy,—mal-administration,—the exhaustion of some rich mines conveniently situated,—the monopoly of the European government,—the restrictions upon commerce occasioned by the state of war among the European nations,—and in some respect, perhaps, from the forced competition of the tin of Cornwall brought to China, the quantity produced of late years has greatly diminished. About the year 1780, the produce had fallen to 30,000 piculs, or to less than half its maximum, and from 1799, until the British conquest, seldom exceeded one-third of this last amount, or 10,000 piculs. Of the causes which have led to the diminished production of tin in late years, the only one that deserves a particular examination is that which ascribes it to the exhausted state of the mineral strata. To this cause, however, I am inclined to ascribe a very limited effect indeed. It is necessarily with mines as with new lands, in countries where both are abundant and fertile. No economy is observed with regard to either. The more fertile beds of minerals, those which afford the greatest quantity

of metal with the least labour, will be first wrought, and a great number of mines will be worked in a slovenly manner, rather than a few with skill and economy. This is the case in the management of the Chinese. A stratum of mineral no sooner dips a few feet beyond the usual level than the mine is abandoned for a new one. A scanty supply of water for washing the mineral will lead to a similar measure. When an adequate price was given for the additional labour, however, the Chinese had no scruple to go on with the work. Premiums with this view were occasionally given by the sultans of Palembang. By giving an additional price to the workmen, the British administration extended the quantity of tin, in 1817, from 10,800, which they found it in 1813, to 35,000 piculs, or 2083⅓ tons, equal to half the produce of Cornwall. All that can be reasonably said, therefore, on this subject is, that the cost of producing tin has, by the exhaustion of some of the most conveniently situated mines, been, perhaps, a *little* enhanced. Were a judicious and liberal system of economy pursued regarding the mines, increasing capital, with the improved skill and machinery which would attend it, would, for a long time, more than counterbalance any natural impediments to mining, arising from the difficulty of obtaining the ore. It is but a small portion of an island, containing an area of 3400 geographical miles, that has yet been examined. The mines at present

are chiefly confined to the northern and western parts of it, whereas the south-eastern has hardly been touched. From one extremity to the other, the alluvial lands are ascertained to abound in beds of tin; and from the analogy of other countries, it is beyond any doubt that the mountains abound in veins of it. To the difficult and expensive processes required for the mining of these last it is at present superfluous to look, for the alluvial lands contain the cheap and abundant supply of many ages.

I shall, with the view of pointing out the great value of the mines of Banca, draw a short comparison between them and those of Cornwall. The whole produce of the mines of Banca, when they were wrought to the greatest advantage, was nearly the same in numerical amount with the highest produce of those of Cornwall. Even at present their amount is equal to one half of it. But the whole produce of Banca is grain tin, a pure metal, superior in intrinsic value to block tin 22¼ per cent. Cornish tin is obtained, with vast labour, by mining through obdurate granite, often to the prodigious depth of many hundred fathoms; Banca tin, by digging through a few soft strata of sand and clay, and seldom to more than three or four fathoms. To clear the Cornish mines from water, the most expensive and complex machinery is requisite; to clear those of Banca, a simple wooden

wheel, costing a few shillings! To separate the Cornish ore from its matrix, it must be ground in a stamping-mill, as well as subjected to the process of washing. The Banca tin is at once separated from its matrix, and fitted without farther care for smelting, by the simple process of passing a stream of running water over it in an aqueduct simply lined with the bark of trees. The necessary result of all this is, that the cost of producing a cwt. of Banca tin is but 22s. 8d., whereas that of Cornwall tin is not less than 61s. 7d.; and that, while a Cornish mine seldom yields a rent of more than a tenth or twelfth of the produce, often not more than a twenty-fourth, and usually not above a fifteenth, the Banca mines yield no less than one-half. This is the most exact and unquestionable test of the superior fertility of the one over the other. The skill and ingenuity of Europeans,—their capital,—and their machinery, make some amends for the inferior fertility of the Cornish mines, but such as are far enough from counterbalancing the immense wealth of those of Banca. Were the Cornish workmen, with their ingenuity, their capital, and machinery, to be employed on such mines as those of Banca, no other mines in the world would, in a short time, be worth working; and, on the other hand, were the Banca miners, with their tools and simple machinery, to attempt such mines as those of Cornwall, there can be no

question but they would be as inaccessible to them, for all useful purposes, as if buried a league in the crust of the earth.

The tin of Banca and the other Indian Islands finds its way into almost every part of the world; but China and the Continent of India are its principal markets. The average annual importation into Bengal is 6000 cwt. By European ships there are imported into Canton 6068 piculs, or 7224 cwt. The Dutch, in the days of their commercial administration, sent to China annually 11,690 piculs, or 16,700 cwt. The quantity sent to the different ports of China by the Chinese junks it is impossible to conjecture, but it is very considerable. The most recent prices in the different countries in which the tin of Banca finds a market may be quoted as follows: In China, 83s. 2d. per cwt.; in Bengal, including duties, 97s.; in New York, where it comes into competition with Spanish tin, 100s. 9½d.; and in Amsterdam, 82s. 8½d. All these prices, allowing for the intrinsic superiority of the metal, are cheaper than Cornish tin in the London market.

I shall conclude this account of tin by throwing out some hints towards a better system of administration for the mines of Banca than has yet been pursued. The lands and the mines are the property of the sovereign; and whether that sovereign has been native or European, the tin has been made a

subject of exclusive trade, for the assumed benefit of the state. This system is too palpably vitious to deserve particular exposure. The sultans of Palembang paid six Spanish dollars a picul for tin, and sold it for 12 Spanish dollars. The profit upon, say 60,000 piculs, was, therefore, Spanish dollars 360,000, or L.81,000. Under the British administration, 10 dollars a picul were paid, including all charges; and the tin, after being transported to Batavia, was sold at 15 Spanish dollars. If from this we deduct one dollar for expence of transportation to that place, and incidental charges attending it, and take the average produce at 80,000 piculs, the profit was but 120,000 Spanish dollars, or L.27,000, against which was to be deducted the interest of money advanced to the miners, the whole civil, naval, and military expences of the island, with its share of the expence of the general government of all the European establishments, of which it is a part. As a mere fiscal arrangement, therefore, it is evident that the commercial monopoly will not bear a moment's examination.

It is not the rent of the mine, the value paid for the productive power of the earth in mineral, that, either in Cornwall or in Banca, put the mining adventures in motion. In Cornwall, the capital of private adventurers is the fund on which the mining adventures are conducted; and the

lord or proprietor absolutely does nothing but sit down at his ease, and receive his rent.* Of the mines of Banca, in their present state of fertility, I have attempted to estimate the rent at one-half of their gross produce. This rent is the proper subject of taxation, and were the amount permanent and equal, or could be precisely ascertained, might, without infringement of private rights, or detriment to public industry, be all assumed as the public revenue of the state. No perpetual arrangement, however, could be made with respect to mines, as proposed with respect to lands; for the productive powers of the soil are permanent, and the rent of a given portion of land increases rather than diminishes in the progress of society, whereas the produce of mines is liable to diminish, or to be altogether exhausted. A periodical, and not a permanent organization, therefore, would be the most

* "The dues," says Mr Taylor, "are delivered to the lord or to his agent on the mine, free of all expence, or are commuted for a proportionate part of the money arising from the sale of the whole. Hence it will be seen that the land-owner risks nothing but a little injury to the surface of his fields. It seems reasonable that the land-owners should contribute something in favour of that exertion which so often leads to their great advantage. As it now stands, the land-owner often derives a great revenue from a mine, which is swallowing up the money of the adventurers."—*Transactions of the Geological Society of London*, Vol. II. p. 312, 313.

suitable. I conceive that the granting of a lease of from ten to twenty years, according to the nature of the mines, with their disposal by the competition of a public sale, would be the surest and most equitable means of determining and securing the amount of the revenue of the state, and of reconciling public and private interests. Subordinate regulations will readily occur, and need not be detailed. Mining adventure, by the plan proposed, would have ample scope; and the abolition of the exclusive trade would soon give the excitement to individual enterprise, which insures prosperity and wealth. From the abundance of the lands of Banca, and the injurious system pursued, of supplying the miners at exorbitant rates with food and necessaries from abroad, they are at present excluding those which contain tin ores, of little or no value. When the activity of mining industry is set at liberty by being freed from the shackles which now fetter it, the lands will acquire value from the demands of the mines; and, as in other situations of much less promise, we shall see agricultural industry thrive, and towns and villages rise in the midst of the mining districts. The lands should be gradually sold for a quit rent, on the principles laid down in another part of this work, to facilitate the progress of so desirable an event. When it is considered that, 70 years ago, under an unfavourable system, and when there was

a less demand for tin in the arts than at present, Banca produced 65,000 piculs of tin, it will not be too high a rate to expect from the system of freedom recommended, that the island should produce 100,000 piculs. Supposing that, of this gross amount, the rent is but two-fifths, the picul being valued at 12 Spanish dollars, then we should have a net revenue of 480,000 Spanish dollars, or L.108,000, free from any expensive fiscal establishment, indeed without any at all, in this particular department, while the trade would be open to the wholesome influence of individual enterprise in every department. *

Next to tin, *gold* is the most valuable of the mineral products of the Archipelago. In a geographical view, it is very generally, perhaps universally, diffused throughout the Archipelago; but the countries in which it most abounds are those of which the geological constitution is primitive. It is most abundant in those islands which constitute the western and northern barriers of the Archipelago, and exists but in small quantities, rare-

* For the information I have supplied in the text respecting the economy of the mines of Banca, I am altogether indebted to an able memoir on the subject furnished to me by my friend Dr Horsfield, who will soon lay before the public the result of researches conducted for many years into every branch of the natural history of the Archipelago.

ly worth mining for, in the great volcanic range extending from Java to Timur-Laut. Of particular islands, Borneo affords by far the most abundant supply. Next to it comes Sumatra, and in succession *the peninsula*, Celebes, and Lusong, an enumeration which would seem to indicate that even the size and extent of the countries in which it is found have some relation to its distribution. In this estimate of the geographical distribution of gold, it ought not to be forgot that we may possibly be misled by too limited an experience, and that the countries in which the industry of man has been, perhaps by accident, directed to its extraction, may possibly be mistaken for those in which nature has produced it in greatest abundance. In one great island especially, the magnificent one of New Guinea, it is known to exist, and there is room to imagine, in great abundance.

The gold of the Indian Islands, in regard to geognostic situation, is found, as in other parts of the world, in veins and mineral beds, as well as in alluvial deposites. In the first situation it exists in granite, gneiss, mica-slate, and clay-slate; and in the second, in ferruginous clay and sand. The ore is what modern mineralogists term *gold-yellow gold*, * and always contains a considerable quanti-

* Professor Jameson's able and laborious "System of Mineralogy."

ty of silver, and generally, although not always, some copper. The gold of Banjar-laut, for example, usually contains in 100 parts—gold 90 parts, silver 4 parts, and copper 6 parts. The gold of Larak, in the same island, affords in 100 parts—gold 86 parts, silver 6 parts, and copper 8 parts. The gold of Pontianak in 100 parts contains 83 parts of gold, 16 of silver, and about 1 of copper.

A small part of the gold of commerce of the Indian Islands is obtained by mining processes from veins and mineral beds; some from washing the sand and mud of brooks and rivers; but by far the greatest portion by washing deposites of gold in alluvial lands. The first mode is chiefly followed by the more civilized native tribes; the second principally by the savages; and the third chiefly by the Chinese. Mining, conducted in veins and mineral beds, is pursued, as far as I know, in the island of Sumatra only. The principal mines are in the interior of the island, in the country of the Bataks and Menangkabao Malays. The mines are but petty excavations. The perpendicular shaft usually goes no deeper than five or six fathoms, when the operations are pursued laterally, the sides of the mine being supported by beams of wood. Iron crows, shovels, and mallets, are the only tools made use of. The practice of blasting the rock is not known, neither is the simple water-wheel of the Chinese, the mine being kept clear

by no other means than by buckets and manual labour. The ore is separated from its matrix, usually quartz, by pounding and washing. Mr Marsden tells us, that it is estimated that there are no less than 1200 of these petty mines in the territory of Menangkabao alone. The fertility of these mineral beds is sufficiently proved by the circumstance of their being wrought at all by such rude and imperfect means.

The practice of mining for gold from alluvial deposites is pursued by both natives and Chinese; but systematically, skilfully, and effectually, as to production, only by the latter. The economy of the Chinese mining operations, on account of their extent and importance to commerce, deserve a particular description. The seat of them is Borneo, and of that island principally the territory on its west coast, situated towards the mountains, and lying between the rivers of Pontianak and Sambas. The country is usually denominated *Montradak*, from the name of the principal town or village, which is situated about two days' journey, or rather voyage, as it is an inland navigation, from the coast. The whole tract is alluvial, and channelled by the beds of numerous rivers, some of them of great size. My information respecting the economy of the mines is principally from personal communication with Chinese who were for years engaged in them. The whole Chinese population of

this part of the country amounts to 36,000, of whom 4000 only are women. Part of the latter only are of the mixed Chinese and native race, and the greater number natives of the place, purchased or kidnapped. Six thousand of the whole of this population only are directly engaged in the working of the mines, the rest being occupied in trade or agriculture, or in branches of industry subservient to the working of the mines. This Chinese population is nearly independent of any native authority, governing itself through its chiefs, and the tribute paid to the raja of Sambas, in whose territories the mines are situated, is very trifling, amounting to no more than 160 bungkals, making 3992 Spanish dollars; or, in Sterling money, L. 898, 4s. Like the tin mines of Banca, the economy and circumstances of which they very closely resemble in many particulars, the gold mines of *Montradak* are divided into large and small. Of the first there are thirteen at present wrought, and of the second fifty-seven. The principal difference in these consists, not in the amount of the fertility of the ore, but rather in the greater or smaller capital which is employed in working them; and, of consequence, in the principle and extent to which the mining operations are conducted. The great mines are wrought by companies of persons of property and capital, who employ monthly labourers. The smaller mines, on the other hand, are worked

by the mere labourers who at once conduct the operative parts, and share the proceeds on terms of perfect equality. The large mines employ from 100 to 200 men, including labourers and overseers, the smaller from 10 to 50. The economy of the large mines is chiefly worthy of notice. The mode of paying the labourers is by monthly wages, with a supply of food. An inexperienced labourer receives for the first four months two Spanish dollars a month, for the second four months four dollars, and for the remainder of the year five. Ever afterwards he receives six, and if he has capacity and integrity to make an *overseer* eight dollars; from the mode of making payment, as will be afterwards shewn, there is a real advance of 30 per cent. on these wages. In defiance of the climate the miners labour severely. They work about 12 hours a day, beginning their operations by break of day, or, if there be moonlight, earlier, not ceasing until half past six at night, and taking very little time to their meals.

The mine is a longitudinal excavation following the course of the mineral stratum, and its breadth and depth necessarily depend upon the circumstances of that stratum. The situation of the ore is, however, commonly very superficial, not usually above five or six feet from the soil. Forty feet is a common breadth for the stratum containing it, and of course for the mine, and 10 feet for its depth, making

15 or 16 feet a common depth for the whole mine. The processes pursued for extracting the ore,—for clearing the mine of water,—and for washing the mineral earth, so much resemble the same operations followed with the tin ore, that they need not be detailed. The access to the mine is by the trunk of a forest tree, into which steps are cut. The ore is extracted and brought up by manual labour with spades and baskets. The largest mines are cleared of water by the Chinese wheel, and the mineral is washed in an aqueduct lined with the bark of trees, and supplied by a neighbouring brook with a stream of running water. In the large mines it is the practice to suspend the process of extracting the mineral, and to wash the auriferous earth at the end of every thirty-five days. A mine wrought by 200 labourers will afford in that time, as the largest produce, about 320 bungkals, or $555\frac{1}{5}$ ounces troy, and as the lowest, about 140 bungkals, or 243 ounces troy. The following detailed statement will point out more fully the expences and profits of the mining business, as it is conducted by the Chinese.

Statement of the Expences and Profits of a Gold Mine, worked by 200 Labourers.

	Dollars.	
20 Overseers for 35 days, at 8 dollars per month, -	186.67 or	L.42 0 0
180 Miners, for 35 days, at 6 dollars per month, -	1260.00	283 10 0
30 Per cent. on wages of 200 men, - -	434.00	97 13 0
70 Piculs ordinary rice, at 1 dollar per picul, -	70.00	15 15 0
17½ Piculs salt fish, at 2 dollars per picul, - -	35.00	7 17 6
4 Piculs salt, at 1¼ dollar per picul, - -	5.00	1 2 6
2 Piculs edible oil, at 15 dollars per picul, -	30.00	6 15 0
Interest of dead stock, and repairs of tools and machines,	35.00	7 17 6
Interest upon capital of 2020.67 dollars, at 25 per cent. for 35 days, - -	49.11	11 1 0
Total charges,	2104.78	L.473 11 6
Produce, 2000 bungkals of Montrada gold dust, worth	4848.00	1090 16 0
Gross profit for 35 days,	2743.22	617 4 6
Annual profit,	28607.89	L.6436 15 6

The gold of the Indian Islands, whether obtained from veins or mineral deposites, always appears in the commercial transactions of the country in the form of coarse sand or dust, that of the alluvial deposites being, from attrition, always smooth, and is of intrinsic value, usually in proportion to the size and coarseness of the grains. In commercial language, gold-dust is designated by the name of the country which produces it, and that of the same country is without any extraordinary variation, pretty constantly of the same touch or fineness. Independent of the quantity of copper or silver always in chemical mixture with the ore, it invariably contains a considerable mixture of earth, iron, and other adventitious matters. The most productive mines, it may be remarked, afford gold of the lowest test, and that which contains the largest portion of mechanical admixture. The following table presents at one useful view an analysis of some of the most common descriptions which appear in the markets.

TABLE,

Exhibiting the Value and Analysis of the Gold Dust of several parts of the Indian Archipelago.

Name of Gold taken from the District which produces it.	Country where situated.	In 100 parts of Gold Dust.		In 100 parts of the Metal.				Fineness estimated.		Value of an oz. of Gold Dust in Sterling Money.			Value of a Bungkal, or 835 gr. of Gold Dust in Sp. Dol	
		Dross.	Metal.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Silver & Copper.	in Carats or Scale of 24 parts.	by Native Touch, or Scale, of 10 parts.	L.	s.	d.	Dols	Cts.
Gold of Ombak,	Borneo,	3.75	96.25	88.19	8.51	3.3	11.81	21.17	8.82	3	12	$1\frac{1}{4}$	27	81
Sanga,	Ditto.	4.96	95.04	90.97	3.65	5.38	9.03	21.83	9.10	3	13	$5\frac{1}{2}$	28	33
Lara,	Ditto.	3.83	96.17	86.11	5.90	7.99	13.89	20.67	8.61	3	10	$4\frac{1}{4}$	27	13
Banjar-laut,	Ditto.	2.66	97.34	90.45	4.34	5.21	9.55	21.71	9.05	3	14	$9\frac{3}{4}$	28	84
Pontianak,	Ditto.	14.05	85.95	82.99	16.14	0.87	17.01	19.92	8.30	3	0	$7\frac{1}{4}$	23	37
Jambi,	Sumatra	5.47	94.53	91.84			8.16	22.04	9.18	3	13	9	28	44
Sambas,	Borneo,	9.00	91.00	83.68			16.32	20.08	8.37	3	4	$8\frac{1}{2}$	24	95
Palembang,	Sumatra,	2.11	97.89	93.75			6.25	22.50	9.38	3	17	$11\frac{1}{2}$	30	06
Montradak,	Borneo,	12.02	87.98	84.09			15.91	20.18	8.41	3	2	$10\frac{1}{4}$	24	24

The natives of the country are extremely inexpert in judging of the quality of gold. They know no means of separating the metals which alloy the ore, being wholly unacquainted with the chemical *menstrua*, and other means, which Europeans employ for that purpose. They are even unaware of the presence of foreign metals at all, and imagine that gold, more or less alloyed, is but the same metal, differing intrinsically, as it is, in a state of less or higher *maturity*. Some of the native dealers in gold have, however, acquired the practice of assaying the metal, by the touch-stone, from the natives of Telinga. The scale of these last people, instead of being divided, as among us, into twenty-four parts, contains only ten degrees. The resident Telingas themselves are the most expert assayers of gold. Native merchants have, indeed, been in the habit of employing the Hindus of the little colony of this people, residing at Malacca, to assay their gold for them, which was done for a trifling per centage. The packages were sealed with their signet, and often passed current for the quantity and value they were said to contain, without examination. From the unskilfulness of the natives in assaying gold, and their consequent fear of imposition, they seldom or ever cast gold into bars, and we do not therefore meet it in this form in the markets of the Archipelago. It may be strongly recommended to any of the European go-

vernments, when they have acquired the confidence of the natives, to institute a mint or assay-office, for the purpose of melting gold into ingots, to bear a stamp, declaring the assay of the metal. This is peculiarly called for in a country which contains some of the most productive gold mines in the world; and I know no measure of mere regulation which would tend so eminently to the benefit and facility of commercial intercourse. The stamp, expressing the quality of the metal, ought to be impressed in one or two native characters, as well as in the Chinese and in the European character. The coining of gold as money is a measure which cannot be recommended in a country where it is more exclusively an article of commerce than in any other, and where, consequently, its price must fluctuate more. Silver, besides, is in more estimation as money, always regulating the price of gold, except where governments arbitrarily interpose to reverse this order. If gold coin expressed only its intrinsic value, it would be immediately exported on every trifling rise in its price, and if it expressed more, it would be of no value beyond the limits of the authority under which it was coined, and would banish silver from circulation. No other result would attend this measure than subjecting the state to the expence of supporting a coinage, an expence at present incurred for them by foreigners.

With respect to the absolute amount of the gold

afforded by the mines of the Indian Archipelago, it is impossible, from the nature of the subject, to state any thing better than probable conjecture. In attempting to furnish materials to form such an estimate, some striking facts will be adduced which will enable us to estimate it at a very high amount. Mr Marsden has estimated the whole export of the south-west coast of Sumatra at 14,400 oz.; and conjectures that that of the north-east may be equal to it. Hamilton, a century ago, estimates the whole gold of Achin at 1000 lbs. This makes the whole export of gold dust of that island 40,800 oz., which, at 21 carats, and five per cent. for extraneous substances, makes the quantity of pure gold 33,915 oz. The great export, however, is from Borneo. * The annual produce of the great mines of Montradak, in the territory of Sambas, reckoning the produce of each labourer of 6000 at $18\frac{1}{10}$ oz., is 88,362 oz. of pure gold. The whole imports of gold at the port of Calcutta, from the different countries of the Indian Archipelago, on the average of nine years, was 16,244 oz. of pure gold, but in particular years it exceeded 26,000 oz. The following table will shew the real state of the imports at that place.

* It has been estimated that in Borneo, in or near the countries producing gold, there are 200,000 Chinese, and that, on an average, each remits to China 172 grains in gold, which would make the whole sent to China, considering all the gold as equal in value to that of *Montradak*, $71{,}666\frac{2}{3}$ oz.

TABLE,

Exhibiting the Quantities and Value of the Gold of the Indian Archipelago, imported into Calcutta.

Year.	From the West Coast of Sumatra.					From Borneo and the rest of the Archipelago.					Total.				
	Pure Gold.	Value at L. 4, 5s. an Ounce.				Pure Gold.	Value at L. 4, 5s. an Ounce.				Pure Gold.	Value at L. 4, 5s. an Ounce.			
	Ounces.	Dollars.	Cts.	L.	s.	Ounces.	Dollars.	Cts.	L.	s.	Ounces.	Dollars.	Cts.	L.	s.
1801	2,451	46,296	67	10,416	15	23,764	448,875	56	100,997	0	26,215	495,172	22	111,413	15
1802	692	13,071	11	2,941	0	9,844	185,942	22	41,837	0	10,536	199,013	33	44,778	0
1803	1,008	19,040	00	4,284	0	7,795	147,238	89	33,128	15	8,803	166,278	89	37,412	15
1804	580	10,955	56	2,465	0	8,791	166,052	22	37,361	15	9,371	177,007	78	39,826	15
1810	4,538	85,717	78	19,286	10	11,863	224,078	89	50,417	15	16,401	309,796	67	69,704	5
1811	611	11,541	11	2,596	15	5,910	111,633	33	25,117	10	6,521	123,174	44	27,714	5
1812	10,570	199,655	56	44,922	10	16,322	308,304	44	69,368	10	26,892	507,960	00	114,291	0
1813	6,374	120,397	78	27,089	10	19,540	369,088	89	83,045	0	25,914	489,486	67	110,134	10
1814	7,206	136,113	33	30,625	10	8,336	157,457	78	35,428	0	15,542	293,571	11	66,053	10
Totals,	34,030	642,788	89	144,627	10	112,165	2,118,672	22	476,701	5	146,195	2,761,461	11	621,328	15
Average,	3,781$\frac{1}{9}$	71,420	99	16,069	14	12,462$\frac{7}{9}$	235,408	02	52,966	16	16,243$\frac{8}{9}$	306,829	01	69,036	10

To the statement given of the exports of Sumatra and Pontianak, and of the produce of the mines of Montradak, many items are wanting to enable us to form an estimate of the total produce of the Archipelago. The whole of the natives of the Indian Islands consume, as ornaments, a much larger quantity of gold than could be reckoned upon from the standard of their relative wealth and civilization. This arises, in some measure,—from the want of silver mines, and the greater relative value of that metal,—from the demand of the precious metals being not for plate or utensils, but for personal ornaments, for which the beauty of gold makes it more suitable,—and from the necessary cheapness of gold in the countries which produce it. This is, of course, a point to be considered in attempting to form an estimate of the whole amount. Of the production of the Malay Peninsula, the *Suluk* Archipelago, the east coast of Borneo, and the Island of Celebes, with the whole of the Philippines, we have no means of forming an estimate, but if the whole produce of these, with the domestic consumption, amount to but one-fourth of that of which I have attempted to form an estimate, and this is, perhaps, a moderate conjecture, then the whole produce of the mines of the Archipelago will be 154,865 oz., worth 2,925,228 Spanish dollars, or L. 658,176 Sterling, or more than one-fifth of the produce of the mines of America, nearly nine times the produce of the mines

of Northern Asia, nearly one-third the produce of the mines of Africa, and nearly four times the produce of those of all Europe. These interesting results appear in the clearest and most satisfactory manner in the form of a table.

TABLE,

Exhibiting the Estimated Annual Amount of the Gold of the Indian Archipelago, compared with that of other Countries.

	Pure Gold.	Value at L.4, 5s. an oz.	
Exports from the east and west coasts of Sumatra, - - oz. 25,080 Produce of Achin, 10,450	Ounces.	Dollars.	L.
Total estimated produce of Sumatra, - -	35,530	671,125	151,003
Estimated produce of the mines of Montradak in Borneo, - - -	88,362	1,669,058	375,538
Produce of all other parts of the Archipelago, estimated at one-fifth of the whole, - - -	30,973	585,045	131,635
Total annual produce of the Archipelago, -	154,865	2,925,228	658,176
Produce of Brazil, oz. 236,250 ——— of Spanish America, - 320,095			
Total produce of America,	556,345	10,508,739	2,364,466
Produce of Northern Asia,	17,325	327,250	73,631
——— of all Europe,	41,738	788,385	177,387
——— of Africa,	470,588	8,888,888	2,000,000
Total annual produce of the whole world, -	1,240,861	23,438,490	5,273,660

From the preceding Table it appears, that *the produce of the Archipelago is nearly one-eighth of that of the whole world.*

The chance of an increased produce from the mines of the Archipelago will depend upon the share of tranquillity which the country enjoys, and the degree of freedom secured to its commerce. Nothing further is requisite, for the ore, from all accounts, exists in inexhaustible abundance. This is most particularly applicable to Borneo; the immense alluvial tracts round the whole circumference of which every where contain rich deposites of this metal, from whence it necessarily follows, that the primitive mountains of the interior must contain veins of it. From the abundance of the ore, and the usual fascination of all mining projects, especially those in quest of the precious metals, the search for gold will be the first object to engage the attention of any enterprising and industrious people settled in that country, of whatever race. Amidst a great deal of anarchy and disorder, mining has of late years been prosecuted by the Chinese with surprising spirit. It is not above eight or ten years since considerable capital and the use of machinery have been applied to it, and in that time there has been a vast increase of produce.

Bengal and China are at present the principal markets for the gold of the Indian Islands. The absolute price, it need hardly be noticed, depends on the state of supply and demand. Its relative price with silver on the spot is ascertained with

considerable accuracy. When the Chinese assume gold dust as money, they estimate the Bungkal, or two Spanish dollars weight, viz. 833 grains troy, as worth sixteen Spanish dollars. The gold of Sambas, which contains, in 100 parts, nine of dross, and 16.32 parts of alloy, is, at this rate, to silver as $9\frac{3}{5}$ is to 1, instead of being, as in Europe, as 15 is to 1. In the open market on the spot, the results of several trials give the relative values from 12 to 1, to 13 to 1. One striking circumstance connected with the gold mines of the Archipelago will not fail at once to strike the reader, viz. that ores of silver are not found along with them as in other parts of the world distinguished for mines of the precious metals. Silver cannot be said not to exist undoubtedly, for it has been already pointed out as always existing in combination with gold; and it is even highly probable that ores of this metal will, in the progress of discovery, be found in the primitive rocks of the great islands, especially of Sumatra; but, with a view to production, its non-existence may strictly enough be predicated. It follows from this remarkable circumstance, that, if the produce of the gold mines of the Archipelago augment in the proportion they have done of late years, without any proportionate increase in the production of silver, the additional quantity of the former metal poured into circulation must soon depreciate its value, and destroy the present rela-

tion between the two metals. This, to be sure, will be effectually counteracted if the conjecture of Mr Holms should ever be verified, that the Cordilleras of the Andes, if properly investigated, will one day afford silver in such quantity and cheapness as to make it as abundant as iron or copper.

Iron and *copper* are, besides tin and gold, the only metals found in the Indian Archipelago. Iron exists but in very small quantity, but, from its native name, without any foreign synonym, we may conjecture that its use was early known to the natives, and was not acquired from strangers. Iron ore, of sufficient fertility to be wrought, is found in several parts of the Malayan Peninsula, in some parts of the south coast of Borneo, in *Banca*, and in *Billiton*. The mines of the last, which is a rocky sterile island, are the most productive of the Archipelago. The mineralogical character, or geognostic situation, of the ores of iron which exist in the Archipelago, I am unable to point out. The iron manufactured at Billiton is said to be of an excellent quality, and nails are manufactured from it on the spot, which are articles of export to some of the neighbouring countries, as *Pontianak* in Borneo.

From what mysterious law of nature does it proceed, that gold abounds and iron is scarce in all the regions of the equator, and that the reverse is

true of temperate regions? Whatever be the cause, the fact has in all likelihood had its share in hindering or retarding the progress of civilization in the one as well as in promoting it in the other.

Copper ores are known to exist in Sumatra,—in Timur,—and have, of late years, been discovered, and wrought in the territory of Sambas in Borneo. A copper mine has long been known to be wrought in Limun in Sumatra. Copper is found in its native state more frequently than any other of the useful metals, and hence it has been judiciously conjectured, that it was used at a more early age for economical purposes than any other. In the Indian Islands this may probably be true of the tribes in whose country copper exists, as in Sumatra and Timur, from whence lumps of native copper have been brought, but it can hardly apply to some of the more civilized tribes, in whose country copper is not found at all, as Java. In one or two of the languages, those of the people, I think, in whose country copper is found, the metal is designated by a native name, but the general, almost the universal, one, *tambaga*, is Sanskrit, from which I infer, that the fusing of copper from an ore is probably an art in which the natives were instructed by the Hindus. Almost all the casts of Hindu images, and other relics of Hinduism found in Java, are a mixture of copper and iron; but I

am not aware that, among the numerous relics of this description, there has ever been found any tools or warlike weapons, such as would indicate that copper had been used for economical purposes.*

Except Brazil and Hindustan, the Indian Islands are the only portions of the world which afford the *diamond.* Though in the immediate vicinity of Siam and the Burman empire, the only parts of the world in which are found the genuine oriental ruby and sapphire, they yield neither of these, nor, so far as we are acquainted, any gems whatever, indeed, but the diamond. Borneo is the only island of the Archipelago in which the diamond is found, and here it is confined to the south and the west coast, principally to the territories of the princes of Banjarmassin and Pontianak. The principal mines are at a place called Landak, from which the diamonds of Borneo, to distinguish them

* An analysis of some of the metallic relics found in Java, such as casts of Hindu images, the zodaical cups, and some ancient coins, including those struck after the conversion to Mahomedanism, discovers them to be alloys of *copper* and *iron*, and to contain neither tin nor zinc. One coin, impressed with the usual Javanese characters, is *pure lead.* These results, so little to be looked for, would seem to imply that tin was unknown or little used by the anciently islanders; and the coin of lead, a metal which is not known to exist, would appear to point out that the islanders, perhaps, received their supply of the useful metals from strangers.

from those of Hindustan, are usually designated. It is the same country that is most remarkable for the production of gold in which the diamond is found. The working of the diamond mines is sufficiently simple. A perpendicular shaft is first sunk, and the stratum containing the diamond is pursued in a lateral direction, the superincumbent earth being supported by piles or posts of timber, and at imminent risk to the miners, from the frequent falling in of the incumbent soil. The geological situation of the diamond in these mines is as follows:—The *first* stratum, from one to two fathoms in depth, consists of soil and yellow-coloured clay; the *second* of sand and small stones or pebbles; the *third* of disintegrated sandstone; and the *fourth* of stones of a very hard nature, differing in their character from those of the two last, and most probably quartz.

The diamond mines are wrought only by the Dayaks or Aboriginal savages of Borneo, and, from their uncivilized state, we may believe, with little skill or industry. Diamonds are in no repute among the Chinese, else, through the industry of that people, we should, without doubt, have long ago found the produce of the mines of Borneo, which are described as fertile, greatly multiplied. The Bugis resident merchants are the great dealers in diamonds. They usually purchase them from the miners at the rate of from five to ten

Spanish dollars for a rough diamond of one carat, or from 22s. 6d. to 45s.

The diamond is in great repute among all the natives of the Indian Islands, and, indeed, is the only precious stone in much esteem, or much worn by them. It is probable that the art of cutting them is a native art, and not a borrowed one. The rough and polished gem are known by two distinct names, *pudi* and *intăn*, both native terms, and the last, or the name of the cut diamond, universally the same in every one of the languages, while the first is confined to that of the country which produces them. No other precious stone, when used by them, is ever polished, and they have a specific term to describe the polishing or cutting of the diamond, which is an original word of the Polynesian languages. If ever the principal tribes, the Javanese, Malays, and people of Celebes, understood the art of cutting the diamond, they have now lost it, but diamond-cutters are still found in Banjarmassin, near the seat of the mines, where, indeed, it is most reasonable to expect to find them. The cut which is approved of by the Indian islanders is a kind of *table* cut. The *brilliant* cut is not esteemed, and the *rose* cut still less, so that it is probable that the *table* cut only is a native one. One of the largest diamonds in the world is now in Borneo, in the possession of the petty prince of Mattan, and was obtained in the mines of Landak about a century ago. It is still in its rough

state, and weighs 367 carats, which, according to the rule of comparing rough and polished diamonds, is but one-half of that amount, if cut, or 183½ carats, which make it eleven and a half carats smaller than the Emperor of Russia's diamond, and 46¾ carats larger than the Pitt diamond. Its real value is L. 269,378, which is L. 34,822 less than that of the Russian diamond, and L. 119,773, 10s. more than that of the Pitt diamond. It has been stated to have lately fallen into the hands of the ambitious chief of Pontianak.

Sulphur has not, that I am aware of, been discovered in any abundance in beds or veins in any part of the Indian Islands, though it is certain enough that it does exist in such situations; but in a country strewed with volcanoes, over a range of thousands of geographical miles, there is, of necessity, an immense store of volcanic sulphur *fit* for the purposes of commerce. There is no volcanic mountain in Java, for example, that does not afford sulphur, but the best and most abundant supply is obtained from the great mountain of *Banyuwangi* at the eastern extremity of the island. Here and in similar situations sulphur is obtained without difficulty, and in such a state of purity as to require no preparation for the market; but the cost of production is naturally enhanced by the nature of the places in which it is found,—mountains of great elevation generally covered with deep forests, and usually at a great distance from

the sea-ports,—circumstances which render the transportation difficult.

The only other mineral production which, in a commercial view, deserves notice, is *salt*. All the salt used by the Indian islanders for culinary purposes is obtained from the evaporation of sea water or that of salt springs, but principally of the former. The abundance of salt springs which exist, particularly in Java, is sufficient proof that there exist beds of mineral salt. The processes by which salt is obtained from brine have been already described in the notices I have given respecting the useful arts of the islanders, and need not be here repeated. Java is the country of the Archipelago that affords the principal supply of culinary salt, and the combination of local circumstances, which gives to that island a sort of natural monopoly, have been already detailed. Along the immense line of its flat north coast there are many situations in which, from their natural advantages, salt is manufactured with wonderfully little labour, and, consequently, at a very low price. About 2 Spanish dollars the *Coyang* of 4080 lbs. avoirdupois, or $\frac{6}{100}$ per cwt. may be considered as about an average of the real cost of production. The capital expended is nothing, or next to nothing. The sun performs the whole process of evaporation,—the implements are but a few wooden rakes, spades, and baskets, and the only *works* necessary are the petty dikes of a foot high, constructed of the

clay or mud obtained on the spot. It follows, from all this, that lands on which salt can be manufactured, like those affording vegetable productions of use to man, or like mines, will yield a *rent* strictly so called. Salt is, in this case, the produce of the earth, and rent is the portion of its produce paid for the original and indestructible powers of the soil to produce this commodity. The rent of the salt lands of Java is, generally speaking, the difference which arises from the superior productive powers of these lands over all other means to produce salt, which, in the natural state of things, is likely to come in competition with the salt of Java. In the Indian Archipelago the salt of Java comes into competition with that of Coromandel, Siam, and with other native salt, and a great proportion of Borneo, Sumatra, and all the more easterly islands, is supplied with it. The country traders can afford to give for it in the island about fourfold the cost of manufacture, or about $\frac{24}{100}$ Spanish dollars per cwt. The difference between this and the cost of production is $\frac{18}{100}$ Spanish dollars, and as, from what has been said of the process of manufacture, a very trifling portion of this is to be accounted the profit of stock, we have a means of conjecturing the proportion of the whole produce which ought to be reckoned as rent. This may be roundly estimated at $\frac{12}{100}$ Spanish dollars per cwt. Where no private right can be invaded, because no private right to the soil is claimed, it is evi-

dent that the whole of this is an available source of revenue to the state, and if assumed on judicious principles, will prove no obstruction to industry. To understand what these principles should be, it will be necessary to furnish a sketch of the management of this branch of revenue as hitherto conducted. The whole annual consumption of Java and Madura is estimated at 32,000 tons, or 640,000 cwt., which, for a population of five millions, is at the rate of 14⅕ lbs. for each individual. The practice of the Dutch was to sell, for a period of years, the *exclusive privilege* of vending and manufacturing salt to a few great farmers, who subset the farms to their agents, and thus the whole consumption was placed at the disposal of a few great monopolists. On the coast the monopoly price was generally about 1400 per cent. above the natural price, and, in the more remote parts of the interior, charged with the numerous profits of many petty dealers, as well as with the necessary ones of transportation, often at the exorbitant rate of 6000 per cent. The only change effected by the British government was to take the management of the monopoly directly into its own hands, on the highly oppressive principle pursued in Bengal, and to fix a maximum for the price of manufacture, higher, however, than the price allowed before to the labourer by the farmers. Including the charge of transport to the depôts, this maxi-

mum was only $_{1}\frac{6}{0\,0}$ per cwt. By a more enlightened system, the rent of the salt lands would be disposed of by the government, at lease, for a series of years at a fixed money rent. The farms should be sold separately, and at great detail to prevent monopoly, and this measure, with the competition of a public sale, would insure the just amount of the rents. This object once attained, the commerce ought, like every other, to be left perfectly free, when the competition of the manufacturers and dealers would insure the lowest prices to the public. If the price, under the monopoly management, was, on the spot, 1400 per cent. above the natural price, reckoning very moderately, we may assume 50 per cent. on the natural price as the cost of the commodity with freedom and competition, so that the consumer would thus obtain his salt for one-tenth of the former prices, or at the rate of one-third of a Spanish dollar per cwt., instead of 1 Spanish dollar. The result would be no less favourable to the public revenue, always a secondary object. The consumption of salt, like that of every other article consumed by man, with perhaps the exception of a few insignificant articles, the demand for which rests upon the caprice of the higher orders in refined states of society, invariably rises as the cost falls, and falls as it rises. A very trifling alteration of price is often sufficient to effect a most material change in this respect. When the *Gabelle* was established in France, a re-

duction of 50 per cent. in the price of salt raised the annual average consumption of each individual from 14 lbs. to 18 lbs. The reduction in price, calculated in the foregoing statement, is 90 per cent., and it will be a moderate rate of increase if we calculate that this decrease of cost will raise the consumption to the average of 20 lbs. for each individual, instead 14½ lbs. The whole internal consumption will then be near 900,000 cwt. or 45,000 tons. If we take the exports at only one-half this amount, or 450,000 cwt., then the whole production of the rent of the salt lands, at $\frac{12}{100}$ Spanish dollars per cent., as already estimated, will be 162,000 Spanish dollars, a revenue which would be collected at little or no expence. The gross amount of the revenue derived from salt under the Dutch was only 127,292 Spanish dollars, and under the British administration, including every charge of management, salaries, construction of warehouses, &c. only 162,646 Spanish dollars. The great importance which naturally belongs, in a practical view, to subjects of this nature, involving the happiness and comfort of a numerous people, will be an apology for the apparent prolixness with which I have treated this and similar questions. *

* For many of the particulars contained in this chapter I acknowledge myself indebted to the valuable communications of my friend, Mr George Larpent of London.

CHAPTER V.

DESCRIPTION OF ARTICLES OF IMPORTATION.

Cotton Fabrics.—Woollens.—Hats.—Shoes.—Iron, wrought and unwrought.—Copper.—Fire-Arms and Ammunition.—Glass-ware.—Porcelain.—Raw and Wrought Silks.—Opium.—Tea.

A DESCRIPTION of the *merchandise imported* into the Indian Islands will occupy much less room than I have found it necessary to bestow upon that *exported.* The first are generally too well known to call for full details, and in regard to them, it will be chiefly requisite to dwell upon those circumstances and modifications which suit them to the tastes and manners of the consumer. I may begin by observing, that, in a commercial intercourse with the Indian islanders, the merchant has, in his efforts to adapt his goods to the market, no inveterate and unsocial prejudices to struggle against. The desire of the islanders for articles of foreign luxury, utility, or comfort, has no bounds but their means to purchase, and the trader who acquires a knowledge of the little local tastes and

fancies of his customers, will be sure of carrying on a beneficial and agreeable intercourse with them.

Among the important articles of importation into the islands, *cotton fabrics*,—from the long usage of the people,—their suitableness to the climate,—the dearness and imperfection of their own stuffs,—and the capacity of modern manufacturing Europe to afford a cheap and abundant supply, hold the first place. The taste for foreign cotton fabrics among the islanders is of a date long prior to the intercourse of Europeans with them, and is probably coëval with their first connection with the country of the Hindus, from which, as far as regarded their foreign consumption, they were, until the last few years, almost exclusively supplied. In the earlier periods of commerce, they appear to have been supplied from Malabar and Coromandel; and in later times, with cheaper fabrics from Bengal. The quantity of Indian cottons described by our own East India Company two centuries back, as consumed in the Archipelago, omitting several important stations of trade, is no less than 200,000 Spanish dollars, or L. 45,000 worth. The importance of the trade in European cotton goods bears date from the capture of Java in 1811, and more particularly from the enlargement of the trade in 1814. Its progress in the few years which have elapsed since then has been remarkably rapid. Before the year 1811, the whole consumption of

European cotton goods did not exceed 5000 pieces of chintz, the only description consumed. These were purchased by the Bugis traders at Penang for exportation to the central and eastern parts of the Archipelago, and at *double* the present prices. In 1814, 1000 pieces of chintz overstocked the market of Samarang in Java, one of the most considerable marts of the Archipelago. Prices have fallen since that period at least 25 per cent., and the consumption has increased in a much greater ratio than even this reduction would imply. In 1818 there were sold in the same market for the consumption of the place itself, and for distribution in the interior, 15,000 pieces, worth 150,000 Spanish dollars, or L. 33,750. This remarkable increase will appear still more surprising when it is known that the retail price, the actual cost to the consumer on this description of goods, is still from 150 to 200 per cent. above the first cost. When the price falls to 100 per cent., which will still afford a good profit to the judicious importer, a great increase of consumption will inevitably follow. This result is to be expected, not so much from the competition of the importers, as from the increase of capital, skill, and experience, in the local dealers employed in distributing this description of merchandise among the consumers, which can only happen from the increased confidence and security which good government will confer. The consequence of the influx of British goods

has already been the entire superseding of all the finer Indian cloths formerly consumed. The only Indian cotton goods now imported are a few coarse cloths, blue and white, called *baftas* and *gurrahs* in the commercial language of our Indian traders, goods in which the labour of manufacture bears but a small proportion to the raw material.

The principal descriptions of cotton goods in demand are chintzes or printed cottons,—white cottons,—cambrics,—handkerchiefs,—and velvets. Chintzes, consumed principally by the native population, constitute, of course, the most considerable article. The selection of these requires some experience; for in the taste displayed by the natives, both in colour and pattern, but particularly in the first, there is something which, to a stranger, appears fanciful and curious, if it were not universal, and, on this account, national. They have a decided aversion to black, and no chintz in which it is a prominent colour will sell, let its texture be ever so fine. The favourite colours are red and green, and next to these yellow and brown. In short, the colours should be as bright as possible, and the pattern should occupy as much as possible of the ground, but still be very distinct, and not crowded or confused. They ought never to be large, and the favourite figures are *running flowers*. The quality most suitable to the market of the islands in general is what costs at Manchester

from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per yard in the present states of the British market. Coarse fabrics are not in demand, but after a certain fineness is attained, the colours and patterns are of more consequence than the texture, cloths of approved patterns, often selling fifty per cent. higher than those that happen not to suit the native taste. A small proportion of very fine chintzes only will now and then find a market. Furniture chintzes meet a limited market. The same selection of bright colours and character of pattern is necessary for them.

The chintzes which I have described are used by the natives for vests or coats with the men, and with the women for gowns, (*baju* and *kabaya*.) For the under part of dress, the covering of the loins and lower parts of the body, (*sarung*,) none of our established manufactures are exactly suitable; but the natives purchase our white calicoes and cotton cambrics, and *paint* them of their favourite colours and patterns. This is a branch of the trade quite new, but likely to be carried to a considerable extent. Manchester *madapolams* and Glasgow cottons, put up in imitation of *Irish shirting*, especially the latter, are articles very suitable to the Java market. They are used chiefly by the Chinese, whose favourite and national colour white is, and have of late years entirely superseded the Indian and Chinese fabrics formerly consumed by them.

The *bandana* handkerchiefs, manufactured at Glasgow, have long superseded the genuine ones, and are now consumed in large quantities both by the natives and Chinese. Some improvement might be suggested by which they would be still more suitable to the taste of the native consumer. The white spots, for example, might be changed for green or yellow flowers, and handsome coloured borders would particularly suit the fancy of the wearer.

Cotton velvets are in considerable demand among the richer natives; not one of whom that can afford such a luxury is without a suit of this material. The favourite colours in this fabric are dark-green, mulberry, and blue, with flowered patterns.

A few finer cotton fabrics are in demand among the European part of the population.

Woollens are an article of considerable and increasing demand among the Indian islanders. There cannot be a greater error than to imagine that this description of fabric is unsuitable to the climate and habits of the people. Woollens are, perhaps, upon the whole, more suitable to climates under and near the equator than to those in the neighbourhood of the tropics. Half the year in the latter is, indeed, a mild winter, in which woollen clothing is an *object of comfort*, but the other half is a sultry summer in which it is *intolerable*.

In countries upon the equator, on the other hand, it is an object of comfort throughout the year,—from the frequency of rains,—on account of the land and sea breezes,—and of the prevalence of elevated tracts of land. During the summer of countries near the tropics, European habits give way to the climate, and cotton garments are the constant wear of the colonists, but at the equator the principal portion of dress with them is always woollen cloth. To the feelings of the natives, who are naturally less oppressed with the heats than Europeans, woollens are objects of still more comfort; and the consumption of them is commensurate with their means of obtaining them.

The demand for European broad-cloths among the inhabitants of the Indian Islands is at least of as early date as our first direct intercourse with them, and was probably much earlier, it not being unlikely that small quantities were imported by the Arabs, received by the latter overland from the Venetians. I am led to this conjecture, from the circumstance of broad-cloth being known to the natives, not by an European, but an Arabian name. In our earliest intercourse with them, broad-cloths were in great demand. The companions of Magellan bartered them readily, even with the natives of the Moluccas, who received them in exchange for their cloves. * With so strong a predilection in their

* The following interesting account is given by Pigafetta

favour, had the skill of the private dealer been suffered to exert itself, we should long ago have seen

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of the disposal of the investment of the first ship that sailed round the world; " Le mardi, 12 Novembre, le roi fit construire un hangard pour nos marchandises, lequel fut achevé en un jour. Nous y portâmes tout ce que nous avions destiné à faire des échanges, et employâmes trois de nos gens pour la garder. Voici comment on fixa la valeur des marchandises que nous comptions donner en échange des clous de girofle. Pour dix brasses de drap rouge de bonne qualité, on devoit nous donner un bahar de clous de girofle. Le bahar est de quatre quintaux et six livres, et chaque quintal pèse cent livres. Pour quinze brasses de drap de qualité moyenne, un bahar de clous de girofle; pour quinze haches, un bahar; puor trente-cinq tasses de verre, un bahar. Nous échangeâmes ensuite de cette manière toutes nos tasses de verre avec le roi. Pour dix-sept cathils de cinabre, un bahar; et la même quantité pour autant de vif-argent: pour vingt-six brasses de toile, un bahar; et d'une toile plus fine, on n'en donnoit que vingt-cinq brasses: pour cent cinquante couteaux, un bahar; pour cinquante paires de ciseaux, ou pour quarante bonnets, un bahar; pour dix brasses de drap de Guzzerate, un bahar; pour trois de leurs timballes, un bahar; pour un quintal de cuivre, un bahar. Nous aurions tiré un fort bon parti des miroirs; mais la plus grande partie s'étoient cassés en route; et le roi s'appropria presque tous ceux qui étoient restés entiers. Une partie de nos marchandises venoit des jonques dont j'ai déja parlé. Par ce moyen nous avons certainement fait un trafic bien avantageux: cependant nous n'en avons pas tiré tout le bénéfice que nous aurions pu, à cause que nous voulions nous hâter autant qu'il étoit possible de retourner en Espagne."—*Pigafetta*, p. 173, 174.

European woollens form a great article of trade between these islands and the European nations. Until the relaxation of the British monopoly, they continued to be supplied with heavy and high-priced fabrics, neither suited to the climate nor to the means of the people, and, of course, the consumption was trifling and unimportant. It is only since 1814 that the importations have become so considerable as to deserve attention in a national point of view. At present the importations into Java, from whence woollens are disseminated throughout the rest of the Archipelago, are very great, and continue rapidly to increase from year to year.

The fabrics which are most suitable are the light cheap cloths of Yorkshire, such as cost at Leeds from 5s. to 6s. 6d. per yard. The favourite colours are scarlet, green, * brown, and blue. The finer and higher priced fabrics of the west of England find only a limited market among the European colonists, and a few of the natives of the highest rank. The market beginning now to be tolerably well supplied, or the supply being equal to the demand, the consumer becomes more fas-

* The taste of the islanders for these favourite colours did not escape our early navigators. In Drake's voyage, in Purchas, it is said of the Javanese, that "they are wonderfully delighted in coloured cloths, as red and green."—*Purchas's Pilgrims*, Vol. I. Book II. p. 57.

tidious, and considerable economy and skill are requisite on the part of the merchant in laying in his investment, which, however, if well selected, will still bring an advance on the prime cost of 100 per cent. To insure this object, the goods ought to be laid in at the place of manufacture, and under the personal direction of the speculator.

Sundry minor articles of wearing apparel are imported into the Indian Islands, principally for the consumption of the colonists. Hats are the most considerable and most promising of these, as their consumption is not confined merely to the European colonists, the Chinese, very generally, and the Javanese, although I believe none of the other native tribes, in a more limited degree, wearing them. Fine beavers in small numbers are required by the Europeans, but the taste of the natives would require a light cheap article, which on the spot would not cost them above 10s. No attempt has yet been made to suit this state of the market. A few short and long cotton stockings find a market. They are chiefly consumed by the European colonists, but a few by the Chinese, and even by the Javanese, who, of all the inhabitants of tropical Asia, seem willing to get over their prejudice in favour of *bare legs*.

Of all articles of European importation, manufactures of leather find the narrowest market.

From the cheapness of the raw material, the small portion of skill and labour employed upon it, compared to that employed on some other materials; and the enhancement of its price in Europe from excessive taxation in the only country that has skill to export it, the natives of Asia, who acquire our art, compete with us more successfully in this department than in any other. A pair of handsome shoes, after the newest London fashion, is made in Java for 18d. and a pair of boots for 5s. These articles are not indeed durable, nor water-proof, but they are a light comfortable wear, and very generally supersede the use of the parallel articles of European manufacture, a few of which only are worn by the colonists of highest rank. The natives, instructed by the British during their stay in Java, now manufacture good carriage harness on the same easy terms. They have been much less successful in the more complex and difficult art of manufacturing saddles, and English saddlery is therefore an article in considerable demand among the European population.

Of all articles of import into the Indian Islands, *iron* forms the most valuable. These countries have hardly any iron of their own, and for this commodity, so indispensable to their comfort, and, indeed, existence, as civilized communities, the islanders are indebted to strangers. Among the causes which have contributed to retard their pro-

gress in improvement, the scarcity of iron deserves a prominent place. Previous to the enlargement of the Indian trade of Great Britain, in 1814, Swedish iron was seldom under 13 Spanish dollars per picul, or 49s. 2d. per cwt., and often rose to 20 Spanish dollars the picul, or 75s. 7d. per cwt.

Iron is imported into the Archipelago *wrought* and *unwrought*, and in the form of *steel*. The quantity of wrought iron, however, is very inconsiderable. The descriptions of unwrought iron brought to the market are Swedish and British, the first always bringing 18 per cent. higher than the second. In the earlier period of our free trade with the islands, the principal demand was for Swedish iron, but of late, the native workmen having got into the method of forging British iron, three-fourths of the whole quantity now consumed is of this last description. Bar-iron, from two to three and a half inches broad, and not more than half an inch thick, is the form best suited to the market. The whole quantity of iron sold in Java, for its own consumption, and for distribution to the countries in its neighbourhood, to which it is conveyed by native vessels, is about 23,000 piculs, near 28,000 cwt., or 1400 tons, worth, at an average, about 100,000 Spanish dollars, or L. 22,500. Swedish steel in small bars, of not more than half an inch square, to five-eighths of an inch, will generally find a ready market. Bars of

larger dimensions, from the imperfect processes of the native artisans in manufacturing the raw material, are not in request.

In wrought iron, a small quantity of fine cutlery and some coarse cutlery is in demand, with locks, hinges, &c. and in Java, carriage springs and carriage mountings. Cleavers *(parang)* and hoes, *(pachal,)* if suitably manufactured, would also answer; but the most material articles of this nature are nails of various sizes, small anchors, weighing from six to twelve cwt., which the native vessels have begun of late years to use, and which are in most *urgent* demand with them during the short boisterous period that ushers in the westerly monsoon; and iron pans, called by the natives *kwalí*. These last are the only articles of iron brought from any other part of the world than Europe. They have been, from time immemorial, imported from China. They are invariably used as sugar-boilers, and by the Chinese, and occasionally by the natives, as culinary vessels. Our acquaintance with the wants of the market in this respect has not been long or intimate enough to enable us to substitute for such commodities our better and cheaper manufactures.

There is a considerable importation of wrought and unwrought copper. The first is entirely from Europe, and the latter chiefly from Japan. Japan copper brings a price in the markets of the

Archipelago, higher than British sheet copper by 15 per cent., and higher by 45 per cent. than British slab copper, or that of Chili. Copper is used by the European part of the population chiefly in sheathing their shipping, and by the natives in the manufacture of *gongs* and other musical instruments of percussion, as well as in the fabrication of brass culinary vessels, which are very universally used by them.

Plated ware, in a variety of forms, begins to be in considerable demand. The principal articles are candlesticks and table-ware.

Fire-arms and *ammunition* have always been in great request by the Indian islanders, whose manufacture of both is extremely rude and imperfect. It has been a principle with the European governments to inhibit the sale to the natives of all descriptions of warlike stores, a policy extremely questionable. The free sale of warlike stores to barbarians places them but the more at the mercy of the civilized people who furnish them with their supplies of these commodities. They are, in short, rendered much less formidable adversaries, when, by quitting their native modes of warfare, they attempt an unequal struggle with civilized man with his own weapons. We ought surely not to overlook also the effects which the possession of fire-arms produces in civilizing them. It is one of the most certain means of inducing them to forg-

go the rooted habits of savage life,—of imitating civilized men,—and of establishing the authority of social order. Were the principle of supplying them without restriction acted upon, the Indian Islands would afford a great market for the warlike stores of the civilized and manufacturing nations of Europe. Small brass cannon, gunpowder, and muskets, are all in demand. The Arab and Chinese traders purchase cannon and blunderbusses for the protection of their vessels from the attacks of pirates. Our common powder in barrels is purchased with avidity, and an *old musket* will generally sell for from 10 to 12 Spanish dollars, or from 45s. to 54s. Among the colonists of Java there is a demand for neat fowling-pieces, such as are manufactured at Birmingham, and the taste for them is extending to the native chiefs, who have also a taste, like the Turks and Persians, for handsome pistols.

There is no article of our manufactures consumed in the Indian Islands upon which the fall of prices has produced so remarkable an effect in extending consumption as *glass-ware*. A few years ago, a trifling quantity was consumed by the European colonists, and even those living among the natives could hardly have suspected that they would have become already considerable consumers of this description of manufacture. The Chinese of Java, the Javanese, and even many of the inhabitants of the more distant islands to the eastward,

now use a variety of our glass and crystal manufactures. The most suitable kinds are vase-shaped lamps, candle shades, small neat lustres, glass-ware for the table, common looking-glasses, formerly brought of a bad kind from China; convex, concave, and ordinary mirrors, shewy, but not expensive.

Like our glass-ware, our *earthenware* also has, within the last two or three years past, come into request. The Indian Islanders and Chinese colonists had always required and received a supply of coarse porcelain from China. Common table sets of blue and white earthenware already sell in considerable quantities, and finer kinds, of every variety of pattern, are in more limited demand. Independent of the superior cheapness and better quality of our earthenware, we possess one great advantage over the Chinese importer. The outward bound freight, as at least one-fourth of the tonnage is not occupied, is a mere trifle; whereas the freight of this bulky commodity from China is considerable, even at present, from the nature of the investments, and would be much greater if teas were imported as the principal cargos, as would certainly be the case in a natural and unrestricted state of the trade.

There is a market for many minor articles, which it will be unnecessary to describe, such as a variety of medicinal drugs, as *cinchona*, *calomel*, &c. with

a considerable quantity of British stationary ware. At present, the greatest quantity of the paper consumed in the Indian Islands is Chinese; but, as the vast superiority of that of British manufacture is well known among the natives, it would soon supplant the imperfect manufacture of China, if it could be imported on terms of equality. *

Raw and *wrought silks* have been articles of demand in the markets of the Archipelago in every age of their foreign trade. China, and not Europe, has supplied the consumption of the islanders

* It may amuse the reader to see the sketch of an investment of European goods, proposed by a most judicious trader, upwards of a century ago. The writer is giving instructions for carrying on the trade at the port of Banjarmassin in Borneo. "As to an investment outward," says he, "a small matter for a private trader may turn out to account; viz. iron bars, small steel bars, small looking-glasses, hangers with buckhorn handles, sheet lead, beautiful callimancoes, knives without forks, proper mixture of cutlery ware; the smallest sort of spike nails, twenty-penny nails, small grapplings of about forty pounds weight, and small guns, from one to two hundred weight, without carriages; *red leather boots*, spectacles, proper sortment of clock-work, small arms, brass mounting bell-mouth-iron blunderbusses, ordinary horse pistols, gunpowder, a few *scarlet worsted stockings*," &c.—Beeckman's *Voyage to Borneo*, p. 151.—This will appear no trifling list, if we advert to the limited market of Banjarmassin, and to the imperfection and costliness of the European manufactures of the age.

in these commodities, and is likely long to continue to supply them. After the picture which has been given of the state of manufacturing industry among the islanders, it may readily be believed, that, did the same freedom prevail in our silk manufacture and trade which exists in those of cotton, silk goods might be disposed of in the Indian Islands to a great extent. The establishment of a colonial trade, on the principles described in the fourth chapter of this book, would be the means of bringing the raw silks of China and Tonquin to the emporia of the Archipelago, for the consumption of Europe. The raw silk of Tonquin, one of the most productive countries in the world in this commodity, it is remarkable enough, is at present as unknown to the markets of Europe as the gold or silver of Japan, although in the early periods of our intercourse it was a considerable article of commerce, being sent to Europe, as well as constituting one of the chief articles of import by European nations into Japan. The raw silk brought at present into the Indian Islands, from China, is of inferior quality. From it the native women manufacture heavy rich stuffs, principally tissues, which, it is remarkable enough, were at one period imported into Europe, such, at that early time, was the rude state of our manufactures. The wrought silks imported are satins, of various colours, with a few velvets and brocades.

The use of silk was introduced, as mentioned in another place, not by the Chinese, but by the Hindus, as is testified on philological evidence. This fact seems to prove, that the intercourse with the country of the Hindus was of earlier date than that with China. No attempt has ever been made in these islands to cultivate the mulberry, or propagate the silk-worm, although the manufacture of raw silk seems a branch of industry peculiarly well suited to the character of the natives, and to the fertility of the soil.

Opium, in all ages of the European intercourse with the Indian Islands, has been a considerable article of importation, and is at present a very great one. From its Arabian name, although I am not aware of any direct authority in favour of the supposition, I think it highly probable that the Arabs taught the use of it, and imported it before Europeans had any direct intercourse with India. Until the last few years, the whole consumption of the Archipelago was supplied by Bengal. There has been a great revolution in this branch of trade, in common with almost every other, in consequence of the trade of the Americans, and the enlargement of the British trade, and a considerable quantity of the consumption of the islands comes now from Turkey and Malwa. The natural cost of a chest of Bengal opium, which usually weighs about 140 lbs. avoirdupois, is calculated to be about

112 sicca rupees, or L. 14 Sterling. In culture it is a monopoly of the government, who limits the quantity grown to about 4500 chests, which are disposed of by public auction to the highest bidder, at two annual sales at Calcutta, in the months of December and February, with the view of suiting the markets of China and of the Archipelago, where almost the whole is consumed. The price has risen of late years, from sicca rupees 738, which it bore about the year 1801, to rupees 1124 in 1803, rupees 1437 in 1804, rupees 1589 in 1810, rupees 1639 in 1811, rupees 1813 in 1814, and ultimately, in 1817, to rupees 2300, its highest price. This price, equal to above twenty times the natural cost of the commodity, shews that the quantity produced and brought to market was unequal to the demand, and that, acting as a bounty on the opium of other countries, it has been the cause of a great importation of Turkey and Malwa opium, as already mentioned. Bengal opium, as an article of trade, is usually sold in the Indian Islands at an advance of 35 per cent. on the Calcutta prices. Throughout the islands, it is made with more justice than under the government of the country of which it is the produce, a subject of heavy duty. The native princes usually monopolize the sale, and the European government of Java farms the privilege of vending the drug in a *medicated* or *prepared* form.

When the supplies were regular, the cost to the consumer was about 3500 Spanish dollars per chest, or L. 787, 10s. Sterling, an advance upon the market price of 133⅓ per cent. upon the monopoly price of Bengal of 168¾ per cent., and upon the first cost of 3025 per cent. Under this form of levying an excise on opium, the duties, if judiciously managed, would realize to the government, exclusive of charges of collection, about a million of Spanish dollars a-year, or L. 225,000 Sterling.

The quantity exported from Bengal to the Indian Islands, one year with another, when the whole supply was from that country, was about 900 chests, of which Java alone consumed 550 chests. The quantity consumed depends, however, as in every other commodity, upon the price. The effects of this principle were illustrated in a most striking manner in all the sales in Java, of which I had personally a remarkable example in those under my own authority, within the territories of the sultan. When the retail price was about 5000 Spanish dollars per chest, as it was on the British first taking possession of the island, the whole consumption was only 30 chests a year. When the price fell to about 4000 dollars, the sales rose to about 50 chests, and when the price finally sunk to 3500, the consumption advanced to near 100 chests. When the price was moderate, many had recourse to the drug who never used it before.

When it was extravagantly high, many who had before used it moderately, desisted altogether, and those whose habits were more confirmed, had recourse as substitutes to native narcotic drugs, less agreeable and more pernicious.

The history of the introduction of Turkey opium is of some interest in a commercial view. Like all new articles, there was at first a strong prejudice against it. The Chinese, who are the farmers of the opium excise, as well as of every other branch of revenue that is farmed, could hardly be induced to take a few chests at one-third of the Bengal prices; this was in 1815. In the contracts they made with the merchants, they shortly afterwards consented to take one-fourth part of the supply in Turkey opium. In 1817 they *expressly stipulated* for Turkey opium, to the amount of one-half of the supply they required, although the price rose to double its first amount, while that of Bengal opium continued stationary. In 1818 they demanded that three-fourths of the whole supply should be Turkey opium, and the price approximated still more to that of the Bengal drug, which suffered a great reduction of price. As by the importations of the Americans in Turkey opium into China, a similar revolution is there going forward in that country, it is probable, that the legitimate influence of competition will put an end to the illegal and unfair mo-

nopoly made of the drug by our Indian government. Bengal opium, which had for many years been sold in China at from 1200 to 1500 dollars per chest, fell in 1818 to 800, and last year the sales in Calcutta, which for several years had exceeded 2000 rupees, fell 30 per cent., or to 1600 rupees. *

Tea, which the natives of the Indian Islands, after the Chinese, call *té*, has, of course, been introduced into the Archipelago from the earliest connection with China, and the present importations are very considerable, Chinese of all ranks consuming it, as well as every native whose means can reach it. The principal commercial intercourse between China and the Indian Islands is with Fokien, the province which produces all the black tea that is exported to other countries, and of course the commodity comes to them in the most direct and cheapest form which the existing regulations of commerce and state of navigation can admit. The Chinese and Indian islanders consume no tea but *black*, and the principal consumption is in the inferior sorts of this description,

* For the greater number of the practical details contained in this chapter, I am indebted to my acute and intelligent friend Mr Deans of Java, a gentleman, who, in the course of a long experience, has acquired an intimate knowledge of the commercial affairs of the Archipelago.

as Bohea and Hangke. A picul of bohea tea is reckoned to cost on board the junks at Amoy about $8\frac{64}{100}$ Spanish dollars per picul, or $3\frac{1}{2}$d. per pound, which is probably not less than 50 per cent. cheaper than the same commodity at Canton. The retail price in Java, as the trade is now taxed, is annually at an advance of 200 to 300 per cent. on the Amoy prices.

In the earlier periods of the European tea-trade, the whole of the teas consumed in Europe were obtained through the medium of the Indian Islands. The taste for tea does not appear to have reached Europe during the Portuguese supremacy in the Indies, notwithstanding their direct and intimate connection with the inhabitants of China. The Dutch, who seem to have learnt the use of it from the Chinese they met with at Bantam, were the first to introduce it into our part of the world. The English, now the principal consumers of tea, acquired it from the same quarter about the middle of the seventeenth century, and our first importations, like those of the Dutch, were from Java. This continued until 1686, when we were expelled from that island by the Dutch, on which we procured our teas from Surat and Madras, to which, however, they were brought by private traders from Bantam, and other ports frequented by the junks of China. This state of things continued until the first years of the eighteenth century, when we traded for the first time di-

rect with several ports of China. The Dutch continued to find it for their interest to import the principal parts of their teas by this channel, except during the short interval from 1642 to 1662, when they possessed the valuable and convenient colony of Formosa. This channel is probably still the most natural and easy by which a large portion of the European intercourse with China may be conducted, as long as the singular policy of that people in regard to strangers is persevered in. This subject is of such moment, that I shall be excused for taking a more comprehensive view of it than seems, at first sight, to belong to the nature of this work. Europe, at present, consumes yearly about 27,000,000 lbs. of tea; and Europe and America, or the whole European race, 32,000,000 lbs. When we speak of the consumption of Europe, Britain is the country chiefly concerned, because it consumes 22,000,000 lbs. of all the teas imported into Europe, and $\frac{11}{16}$th parts of all that is consumed by the European race. The immense quantity of tea now mentioned, owing to the jealousy of the Chinese government, must all be brought from a single port, if we trade direct with the country, while all our commodities, bulky as well as otherwise, must be imported into that country through the same confined channel. It necessarily happens from this, that such Chinese goods as are not produced at or near the port of exportation, are wantonly enhanced in price by distant carriage; and that,

of the commodities imported by us for their use, the bulky can be consumed only by the limited market of the spot where they are imported, while a few of the less bulky, and the least important alone, can obtain a more extended one. Of the exports, teas are the only article which is of very great importance. There are, as is well enough known, two descriptions of tea, *black* and *green*, permanent varieties of the same plant, divided into subvarieties. The culture and qualities of the tea-plant are most satisfactorily illustrated by comparing them with those of the grape. The districts in China which grow green tea are distinct, and even distant from those which grow black, and both are far enough from Canton, the only port of exportation. To grow the different varieties of tea, in perfection, demands a peculiar soil and climate, and the culture, in general, requires the care and attention of a skilful husbandry. China is the only country in the world where fine tea, fit for exportation, is produced. Even in Japan tea is grown in a very careless manner, as a secondary object of culture, being planted only round the edges of corn-fields, and not as a distinct object of husbandry, and it is so ill cured that it will not keep in a long voyage. The teas of Tonquin and Cochin-China are still coarser, and fit only for the use of a people long accustomed to them, and who know no better. Even in China the situations fit for growing teas, as is the case in Europe with the

grape, are very limited. The black teas for exportation are all produced in the north-west part of the province of Fokien, and the green in that of Kiangnan, in the neighbourhood, and to the west of the city of Whe-chu-fu. Both Fokien and Kiangnan are maritime provinces, and two of the richest of the empire. Fokien is, in a manner, isolated from the rest of the empire by a chain of mountains, which surrounds it in every way on the land side. It is among the vallies of the portion of these mountains, called Bu-ye,* that the black teas are grown. A very small portion of them only is brought to Canton by sea, and the rest is transported by porters over the mountains, and generally without the advantage of internal navigation. The distance, in a straight line to Canton, from the black tea districts, cannot be less than 320 miles, and, by the usual calculation for the winding of the roads, not less than 360. Wherever land-carriage must be resorted to in China, it is attended with peculiar disadvantage, from the total absence of wheel carriages, good roads, and beasts of burthen. The green tea districts in Kiangnan cannot be less than 700 miles from Canton in a straight line, or 800 miles following the direction of the road, although, perhaps, from the advantage of internal navigation, the cost

* Of which the word Bohea is a corruption. We apply the term erroneously to the worst description of black which we import.

of transport is not proportionally enhanced, so much as in the case of the black teas. *

The natural and obvious channels by which the teas of China would be exported to foreign countries are wholly different from that to which the Chinese force it. Black teas, instead of being conveyed by a land journey of about 360 miles, to Canton, are readily conveyed to the maritime city of Fou-chu-fu by an easy voyage on the river Min, of four days, in the *most* favourable season, and by a voyage of twice that length in the *least* favourable. The green teas are still more easily transported to the coast on the Yan-che-kiang, one of the greatest and finest rivers in China, which runs through the province of Kiang-nan, and brings the teas from the spot on which they are produced, direct to the coast. The marts to which they are brought are exactly those places, especially those in Fokien, where the natives are the most remarkable for their maritime enterprise, and from which, in fact, by far the largest portion of the native foreign trade of China is conducted. Including the province of Che-kiang, which produces the greatest quantity of the raw and manufactured silk of China, the provinces of Fokien and Kiang-nan are the great marts for distribution to the more northern provinces, of the

* I am indebted for many of the facts here adduced to a little printed tract by Mr Ball of our factory at Macao.

foreign goods, particularly the European, consumed in China, and which do not find a market in the two provinces of Quantang and Kiangsi, the limited neighbourhood of Canton, the present port of importation. It need hardly be insisted, that the natural course of a free trade, were it permitted, would bring the skilful and intrepid navigators of Europe at once to the true *emporia* of the tea trade. The irrevocable edicts of the Chinese government, by confining our trade to a single port, forbid, as is but too well known, this freedom of intercourse. The cost of conducting it by a more circuitous and expensive channel is the tax we pay for our restless ambition, an ambition which has compelled a numerous and industrious people, who once admitted us freely into all their ports, to place us under limitations. It remains for us only to submit to what we cannot change,—to make the best of our situation,—and not aggravate it by superadding shackles of our own making. If a free trade were established between the ports of China not now frequented by Europeans, and the colonial establishments of Europeans in the Indian Islands, as well as between the latter and Europe, we should be, in some measure, compensated for our exclusion from a free and direct intercourse with the ports of China. The Chinese merchants of Canton are of opinion that there is a difference in the charge of bringing black teas by land and sea carriage of from one-third to one-half.

It may, therefore, be asked, how it comes about that, while there exists an extensive coasting trade between the provinces of Fokien and Quantong, teas are not invariably conveyed by sea? This is accounted for. The great capitalists of Amoy and Fu-chu-fu are not directly interested in the tea trade to Canton. It is not their capital, but that of the merchants of the distant port of Canton which sets it in motion; and the latter, who make their contracts with the cultivators of the mountains, will not employ the former as intermediate agents in a country where all agents are notorious for dishonesty. Besides this, tea is a cheap and bulky commodity, and the shipping which convey it must come back half empty for want of return cargos. The voyage to the Indian Islands is of a very different character; a full return cargo being always to be obtained, purchased at first hand, and always bringing a great profit to the adventurers. What is remarkable is, that it hardly exceeds it in length, and is perhaps even safer. The voyage along the coast from Fu-chu-fu takes fifteen days; that to Batavia is often performed in this time, and seldom exceeds it beyond five or six days. It must be safer, in as much as a voyage performed in the open seas is safer than one performed along a dangerous coast, and in as far as one, the greater part of which is performed in the tranquil waters of the Archipelago, must be safer than one, the whole of which is performed in the tempestuous seas of China.

The advantage of bringing teas direct from the natural marts of the teas in China will be rendered obvious, by exhibiting a short sketch of the voyage of a Chinese junk to the Archipelago, and contrasting it with that of an European ship of the same burden from Canton.

The voyage of a Chinese junk of 400 tons burden is as follows:

Investment of black tea at 11¼ c. for each ton, makes 504,000 lbs. laid in at 3½d. per lb., is	L. 7,350
Freight at L.4 per ton, being double the amount estimated for an European ship,	1,600
Insurance 10 per cent., or five times the amount of insurance on an European ship,	735
Profit at 40 per cent. or quadruple that estimated on an European voyage,	2,940
Total,	L.12,625

The tea imported into the Indian Islands will, at this rate, cost no more than 6d. per lb.

An investment of tea brought by an European ship of the same burden from Canton will be as follows:

Investment of black tea at 11¼ c. for each ton, makes 504,000 lbs. laid in at 7d. per lb., is	L.14,700	0	0
Freight at L.2 per ton,	800	0	0
Insurance at 2 per cent.,	294	0	0
Port charges and duties at 4500 Spanish dollars, or	1,012	10	0
Factory charges 500 Spanish dollars,	112	10	0
Profit at 10 per cent.,	1,470	0	0
Total,	L.18,389	0	0

The tea imported into the Indian Islands by this conveyance will cost 8¾d. per lb., and will of course be dearer than the teas brought by the junk by 2¾d. per lb., or nearly by 46 per cent.

The advantage which the European consumer would receive by the tea trade being conducted in this channel, may be shewn by tracing the progress of the commodity in the course of a free trade. If black tea could be laid in at one of the emporiums of the Archipelago at 6d. per pound, it would be no exaggeration to state the cost of the best hyson at only 1s. 7d. a pound. The sketch of the voyage will then be as follows:

For a ship of 400 tons burden,			
Hyson, 88⅜ tons, or 79,644⅓ lbs. at 1s. 7d. per lb., is	L.6,305	3	8½
Black tea, 311⅓ tons, or 357,155⅔ lbs., at 6d. per lb.,	8,928	17	9
Freight at L.8 per ton,	3,200	0	0
Insurance at 4 per cent.,	612	0	0
Export duties and port charges, say 5 per cent.,	761	14	1
Profit, 20 per cent.,	3,046	16	3½
Total,	L.22,854	11	10

By this calculation, hyson tea might be imported into England at 2s. 2¼d. per lb., and black tea at 9½d.

These prices, exclusive of duties, are, for black tea 25 per cent. cheaper than teas imported in the free trade of the Dutch, and no less than 65 per cent. cheaper than the same commodity imported through our own monopoly.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ACCOUNT OF THE MATERIALS OF THE MAP.

The Map of the Indian Islands has been compiled from the following materials:—The coasts of Pegu, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, Camboja, Cochin-China, the island of Hainan, the Andaman Islands, the Nicobar Islands, Sumatra, Banca, Billiton, with the west coast of Borneo, are taken from a chart by Captain Horsburgh. The Paracels, and Coast of China, to the east of the island of Hainan, are taken from the Surveys of Lieutenant Ross. The Philippines are from a Spanish chart, published by Arrowsmith. The island of Palawan is also from Arrowsmith, with all the points corrected by Lieutenant Ross. The Sooloo Islands are from Dalrymple. The north, south, and east coast of Borneo, the coast of Celebes, &c. are taken from the best charts of Dalrymple, Arrowsmith, Espinoza, and from numerous Dutch and Spanish charts, adjusted in latitude and longitude by observations extracted from Horsburgh's East India Directory. The Bashee Islands are taken from a chart by Horsburgh. Java is from the beautiful map of Sir S. Raffles; and the interior of Sumatra from Mr Marsden. The Islands of Bali and Lombok are from a manuscript of Captain Harris of the Bengal Artillery, compiled from native information, and their positions adjusted from Horsburgh. Timor, and the south coast of New Guinea, are from Flinders.

The west coast of New Guinea is from Lieutenant M'Clur; and the north and east coasts of the same island are from Arrowsmith, adjusted by Horsburgh. Australasia is taken from Flinders, and from a MS. survey in the possession of Mr Walker. The particular plan of Banca is taken from a Survey by Mr Robinson, published by Horsburgh, with the interior from Dr Horsfield. Amboyna is from a chart by Dalrymple.

The following Table of Latitudes and Longitudes of some of the principal positions in the Archipelago, with the superficial area of the principal countries, will prove useful.

	Lat.		Long.		Geog. sq. miles.
Malay Peninsula					48,000
Salang, or Junkceylon Island (S. end)	7° 46°	N	98° 20'		
Prince of Wales Island (fort)	5 24½	N.	100 21½		
Romania Point (the S.E. point)	1 22	N.	104 16		
Sumatra					130,000
Achin (town)	5 36	N.	95 26		
Flat Point (S.W. end)	6 0	S.	104 40		
Tanjong Tora, or Hog Point (S.E. end)	5 54	S.	105 43½		
Bangka Island (Monopin Hill)	2 0	S.	105 14		3,400
Billiton (S.E. end)	3 22	S.	108 20		1,600
Borneo					212,500
Sambas River (entrance)	1 13½	S.	109 3		
Tanjong Sambar	2 58	S.	110 8		
Pulo Laut (N.E. end)	3 23	S.	116 41		
Konneroongan Point	1 5	S.	109 10		
Tanjong Sampanmangio	7 1	N.	106 47		
Java					50,000
Java Head	6 46	S.	105 9		
Cape Sedano	7 49	S.	114 28		
Madura Island (N.E. point)	6 53	S.	114 2		
Bali (Peak)	8 24	S.	115 24		1,700
Lombok (Peak)	8 21½	S.	116 26		1,900
Sambawa (S.W. end)	9 2	S.	116 45		3,600
S. E. end	8 51	S.	119 8		
Floris (S.W. end)	8 55	S.	119 57		6,300
Timor (Kupang)	10 9	S.	123 36		9,000
E. end	8 21	S.	127 15		
Celebes					55,000
Macassar town	5 9	S.	119 36		
Cape Donda	0 48	N.	119 57		

	Lat.		Long.		Geog. sq. miles.
Kima Village	1° 22′	N.	125°	19′	
Butung Point (S. point)	5 42	S.	123	44	1,400
Booro (N.W. end)	3 6	S.	125	57	2,600
Cajeli Bay, Fort Defence, N.E. of Booro	3 24	S.	127	4	
Ceram, S.W. point	3 31	S.	127	56	4,300
S.E. point	3 45	S.	131	0	
Amboyna, Fort Victoria	3 40	S.	128	15	370
Batchian, S.E. extremity	0 48	S.	128	3	600
Ternate Volcano Mountain	0 48	N.	127	13½	
Tidore (Mountain)	0 40	N.	127	22½	
Gilolo, S. point	0 50	S.	128	25	4,500
N. point	2 23	N.	127	50	
Morty N. Cape	2 44	N.	128	25	900
Aroo S. extremity	7 6	S.	135	20	3,400
Timor Laut S. extremity	8 15	S.	132	15	1,600
New Guinea N. W. point	1 27	S.	130	45	213,300
Cape of Good Hope N. point	0 20	S.	132	31	
Cape Valsche	8 23	S.	137	50	
S.E. point	8 45	S.	148	25	
Souloo, I. W. end	5 52	N.	120	51	250
E. end	5 57	N.	121	27	
Basilan I. W. end	6 34	N.	121	46	300
E. end	6 33	N.	122	22	
Mindanao S. point	5 30	N.	125	15	25,000
W. point	7 0	N.	121	50	
N. point.	9 49	N.	125	22	
Negros S. point	9 4	N.	122	53	2,750
N. point	10 58	N.	123	13	
Zebu S. point	9 26	N.	123	3	1,550
N.E. point	10 58	N.	123	55	
Bohol W. end	9 53	N.	123	37	900
S.E. end	9 43	N.	124	22	
Leyte S. point	9 50	N.	124	59	2,800
N.W. point	11 33	N.	124	15	
Panay S. point	10 25	N.	121	59	3,300
N.W. point	11 43	N.	121	49	
N.E. point	11 33	N.	123	9	
Samar S. point	11 2	N.	125	43	3,800
N.W. point	12 33		124	15	
N.E. point	12 33		125	13	
Mindoro S. point	12 10		121	14	2,700
N.W. point (point de Calavite)	13 26		120	16	
N. point (point del Escarseo)	13 31		121	0	
Catandreanes S. point	13 13		124	4	450
N.W. point.	14 4		124	4	
Luzon S.E. point (point Calaan)	12 31		124	5	30,600
S.W. point (point Santiago)	13 45		120	38	
Mamla	14 36		120	58	
N.W. point (C. Bogeador)	18 27		120	34	
N.E. point (point Majague)	18 36		122	15	
Palawan S.W. point	8 23		117	12	3,800
N. point.	8 28		119	40	

No. II.

SKETCH OF THE ORTHOGRAPHY MADE USE OF TO EXPRESS ORIENTAL WORDS.

THE following short explanation of the orthography used in the course of the work will be sufficient to make it intelligible.

Of words which have become familiar to the European reader by long use, I have taken care not to disturb the popular orthography. But on occasions of philological discussion, or wherever a more critical attention was required, I have attended to a more precise and systematic one. The sounds of the Polynesian languages are few and simple, such as can be articulated by the European organs, and expressed by the Roman characters, without much difficulty. The vowels are as follows: *a* is our *a* in *call*, *e* our *e* in *melodram*; *i* is the *Italian i*, or our *ee*; *o* is our *o* in *sober*; *u* is our *oo*, or our *u* in *full*. The *a* with a circumflex, thus, *ă*, is our short *u* in *sum*. The diphthongs are but *two* in number, which are the combinations expressed by *ai* and *ao*, according to the description just given of these vowels. The consonants require very little description; they are *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *w*, *y*, and *z*. In common with most of other oriental languages, the Polynesian dialects have four distinct characters, for which the Roman alphabet has no corresponding symbols. These express our *ch* in church, our nasal *ng* in sing; the sound which, in a rapid enunciation, is nearly expressed by the consonants *ny*; and lastly, the aspirate. These are respectively expressed, in this work, by *ch*, *ng*, *ny*, and *h*.

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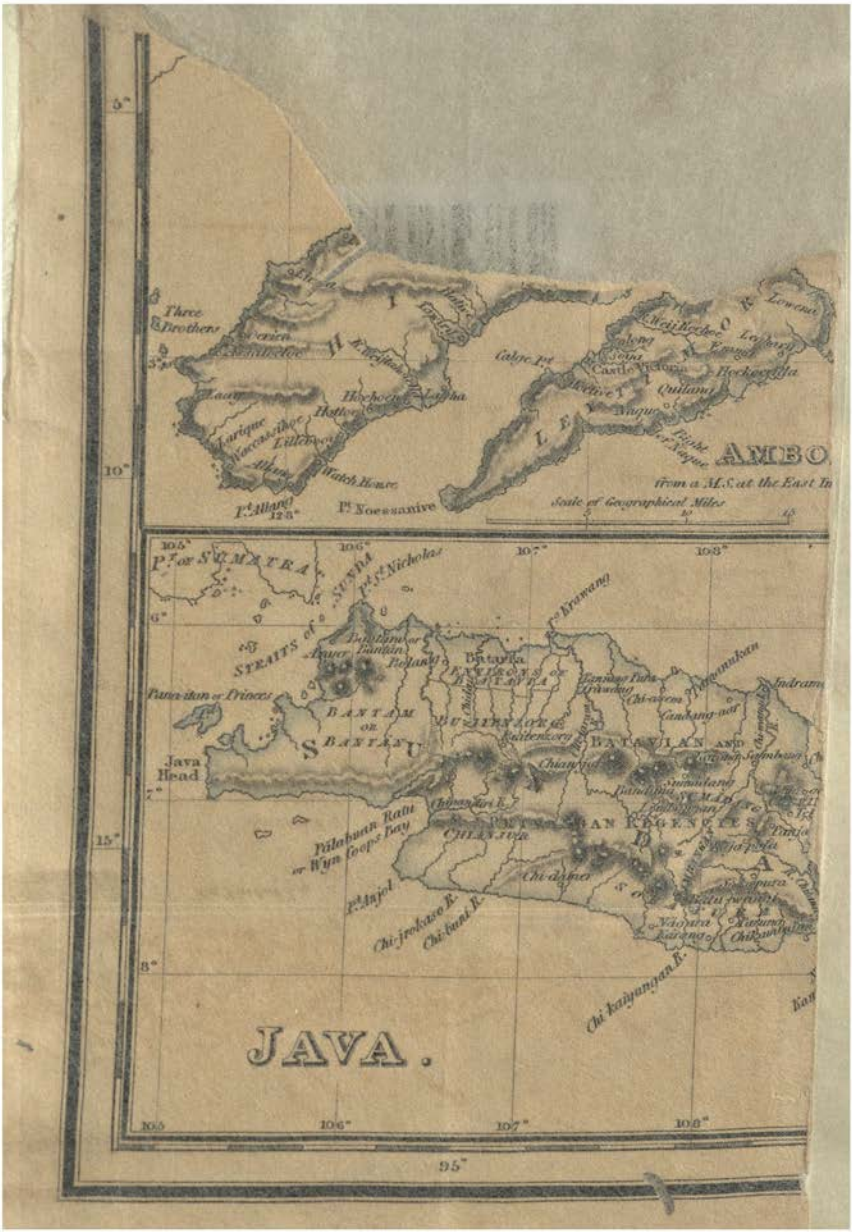
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